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THE

UNIVERSAL TENDENCY

TO

ASSOCIATION IN MANKIND

ANALYZED AND ILLUSTRATED.

WITH PRACTICAL AND HISTORICAL

NOTICES OF THE BONDS OF SOCIETY,

AS REGARDS INDIVIDUALS AND COMMUNITIES;

COMPREHENDING

THE ELEMENTS AND RESULTS OF COMBINATION IN THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF CIVIL CONSTITUTIONS IN THE WORLD, IN ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENTS, FEDERAL UNIONS, MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS, ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD, CASTES, ECCLESIASTICAL ORDERS, FREE-MASONRY, AND IN THE CONFEDERATED STRUCTURE OF ARMIES: IN THE NATURE OF COMMERCIAL TREATIES, COMMERCE, BUSINESS PARTNERSHIPS, LITERARY, BENEVOLENT, AND RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES, TRADES AND POLITICAL UNIONS, AND MOBS: IN ANCIENT AND MODERN CONCOURSES FOR RECREATION, GAMES, CONVIVIAL CLUBS, FAIRS, HORSE AND YACHT RACES: THE ASSOCIATING INFLUENCES OF FASHION, GRADATION OF RANK, USAGES AND CUSTOMS; WITH THE ELEMENTS CONTAINED IN NEIGHBOURHOOD, SIMILARITY OF LANGUAGE, NAME, OR COLOUR, AND IN UNITY OF OPINION. MOREOVER, THE ELEMENTS OF DISSOCIATION INCLUDED IN WAR, SLAVERY, CAPTIVITY, THE SEGREGATION OF FEMALES, THE DISUNION OF ULTRA-DENSE POPULATION; WITH OCCASIONAL REMARKS ON THE DOMESTIC RELATIONS, ON SECTS AND PARTIES, ON SOLITUDE, EXCLUSIVENESS, SOCIALNESS, AND GREGARIOUSNESS.

BY JOHN DUNLOP, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF DRINKING USAGE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

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ON THE PRINCIPLE

OF

ASSOCIATION IN MANKIND.

THE first idea that mankind form of association may, probably, arise from the perception of such conjunctions of material objects as they are conversant with; as, for instance, the links of a chain, the united component parts of trees, and other external objects; the associations that are the result of the gregarious nature of some animals, such as flocks of sheep, herds of cattle, shoals of fish; congresses of crows, swallows, and other wild fowl.

These, perhaps, metaphysically speaking, may afford the primary notion of association. In all of these the idea of contiguity of place, or even of actual contact intervenes. But associations

among men, by reason of similarity of intellectual views and joint opinion; or in consequence of cooperation in the same mental pleasures, or business; or in avoidance of similar circumstances of disgust or danger; do not necessarily infer a corporeal contiguity of the associated individuals in place. Although it must be confessed that, as man is made up, not only of a mind capable of ranging in thought past the ends of creation, but also of a *located* body, necessarily occupying a place in space at all times; it follows that association, as far as regards the human race, is sometimes constituted both of the conjunction of minds in pursuit of similar objects, and of a certain measure of material collocation.

The term Association may be received in senses more or less limited, but it does not generally express the situation of those who are thrown together by chance, or who are forced into an undesirable conjunction. The casual passengers in a stage coach, or steamboat, are scarcely to be denominated associates in popular language, and as little are those who meet together in the forceful recesses of a jail, or more mournful imprisonment of a lunatic asylum; the idea of something spontaneous on the part

of the individuals associated seems generally implied in the notion of association, and a purpose of junction somewhat obvious.

Association may be produced by a variety of motives, and in a variety of ways; and, accordingly, the terms employed to denote its several modifications are various. We have the words confederacy, conjunction, connexion, coalition, combination, company, corporation, community, society, league, alliance, partnership, bond, fellowship, convocation, congress, concourse, congregation, union; with a variety of others, to express the differences of external qualities and mode, that obtain among the various species of association.

The terms conjunction, connexion, combination, infer a reduction to union or oneness from prior plurality. Partnership infers partition, or sharing of profit and loss. Fellowship presumes an equality. Communion supposes certain privileges made common among many. The words harmony, sympathy, concord, may, perhaps, express certain elements producing confederacy, rather than any modification of association itself.

But the chief distinctions into which the principle seems to be resolvable are two, viz.:

I. The association which proceeds from the natural elements of combination and connexion that are common to all mankind; and

II. Those species of unions in communities, which are artificially constructed, or reduced to regular form, of special purpose and design.

Upon farther investigation, it will be found that all the actual association which exists in the world, comes under one or other of these two grand divisions, and to the contemplation of them we shall successively direct our attention.

Some consideration, therefore, of a variety of examples of natural and artificial association; a brief occasional notice of some of those general principles that produce and maintain association, or those states of things that elicit the principle; and a glance at those elements in the constitution of affairs, which act counter, and in opposition to association, or that tend to repulsion,—will form the contents of this tractate.

CHAPTER I.

NATURAL ASSOCIATION.

INSTANCES OF ASSOCIATION AMONG THE LOWER ANIMALS—BEES—WILD FOWL—BEAVERS—MAN'S NATURE SOCIAL—SOLITUDE, HOW FAR ADVISABLE—OCCASIONAL SECLUSION USEFUL—TAILORS AND OTHER ARTISTS, THEIR DEGREES OF SOLITARY LABOUR—ITS EFFECTS—THE DOMESTIC RELATIONS—DANGER OF DISORGANIZATION HERE—INSTANCES.

THE lower animal creation furnishes us with various specimens of association. The same modes and habits of life, a desire for the same description of food, like methods of constructing lairs and nests, and rearing of their young, similar necessities for defence; all contribute to produce an instinctive association among many of the varieties of living creatures, or offer opportunities for the working of such a principle.

The members of every separate species of beast, bird, insect, reptile, and fish, are more or less linked together in tighter bonds than is

observable in their respective connexion with individuals of other species. But there are a few tribes whose confederacies are so marked and striking, that we may shortly advert to them.

The bee affords a remarkable instance of minute and complicated association. The laws by which the community of bees is regulated are wonderful; and among other extraordinary elements of their constitution, the practice of division of labour seems not to be unknown. When they begin to work in their hives, they divide themselves into four companies; one of which roves in the fields in search of materials; another employs itself in laying out the bottoms and partitions of their cells; a third is employed in making the inside smooth from the corners and angles; and the fourth company brings food for the rest, or relieves those who return with their respective burdens: and these parties often interchange the tasks assigned to them.

Their method of dislodging, and swarming, of rearing their young, building their cells; their gregarious attack or defence, the preparation of their food, and a variety of other operations, are all conducted by rules inferring the

strictest association of the individual members of their numerous and busy republic.

Similar extraordinary combinations are observable in the general economy of the ant species, of rooks, and other gregarious fowls; among herds of wild quadrupeds, also, and among some descriptions of fish, and particularly the herring tribe. And a very singular application of the principle of association among animals is perceptible in the preparations for and adjustment of the annual migration of various feathered kinds, to and from this country. On a set day in the month of September, or October, numbers of swallows are seen to congregate on the top of some house or church; large flocks, from time to time, join the main body. Next day, perhaps, after a great commotion, and much chirping and adjusting of procedure, the whole assemblage take their flight for the shores of Africa.

But in no animal is a principle of association approaching humanity more perceptible than in the beaver. These are said to meet together about the months of June or July, apparently for the express purpose of uniting into a society. Among a variety of joint operations, several of them gnaw at the root of a tree, till

it be cut through and fall across the stream upon which their settlement is to be made. Others lop off the branches in the same manner, while another party traverse the stream, and succeed in cutting and dressing smaller wood for the purpose of stakes. Some dig holes at the bottom of the river for the reception of the stakes; others bring earth, which they plash with their feet and beat firm. Their houses sometimes consist of more than one story; they are plastered within, and are otherwise commodious in a remarkable degree for the purposes intended. They lay up a store of provisions for the winter. Sometimes a beaver village contains twenty-five cabins, with from one hundred and fifty to two hundred inhabitants; and in the society a universal peace is always maintained. Their union seems to be cemented by common labours; and the abundance of provisions which they amass, they consume together.

In all these instances, and numerous others which might be adduced, the principle which seems to operate and effect the conjunctions and combinations which we have alluded to, is that instinct which Divine Providence has implanted in the breasts of the lower animals for their guidance and protection.

But man, also, is the subject of the operation of the principle of association; and having the same wants and desires as his fellows, requiring the same food, clothing, and lodging, and equally liable to similar circumstances of danger, is compelled to combine with others of his kind for mutual defence and protection. The situation of man, even in the most inartificial and artless state of society, is such as calls loudly for the operation of the principle of confederacy and conjunction; but, as the progress of manners advances, the modifications of association become vastly numerous and involved. The bands that unite parents and children,—the connexion of families by marriage,—the ties of neighbourhood,—the combinations which arise from being inhabitants of a common district or kingdom, with a variety of other conventional relations to be afterwards noticed, constitute the cords and fastenings of society to a large amount of intricacy and complication.

In the present state of Europe, absolute solitude is, so far as I know, not to be found; and our knowledge of such a condition is, perhaps, only to be met with in the "Narrative of Alexander Selkirk," or its admirable type, the "Adventures of Robinson Crusoe." Indeed the

hermitage of an individual recluse is scarcely now to be discovered, particularly among Protestants; though in Catholic countries we have still many examples of monkish seclusion, of both sexes, in monasteries and convents. Between this excess of retirement, and the unmitigated publicity of some circles in the populous haunts of mankind, there are many gradations.

If the chief objects of a man's life ought to be mental improvement, usefulness to others, and individual preparation for the world to come, then it will not be denied, that it is a matter of some importance for every one to regulate his or her plans of publicity or privacy with earnest care, as upon this circumstance much depends in making up the character. A monkish seclusion seems as far distant from benefit to ourselves, or others, as a continued notoriety; but in large communities, the tendency to the latter error is, perhaps, the greater. We generally find, therefore, that superior minds are those who make a point of periodical solitude, and retire frequently and statedly for study or meditation. Some professions and trades necessarily call to greater and more continuous mixture with the public than others. Individuals connected with retail traffic, and artificers

in large works, are, by their occupations, much precluded from the benefit of retirement, and deep mental exercise. Whereas, those shoemakers, weavers, tailors, and other artisans, who work in their own rooms,—gardeners, shepherds, and others, accustomed to rural retirement, are observed occasionally to be persons of great intelligence and comparative cultivation.

Having had considerable opportunity of observing the peculiarities of large varieties of the working classes, in transactions connected with the operation of educational, devotional, mental improvement, temperance, and other descriptions of association, I have been often struck with the enlargement of mind and massive mental faculty exhibited by men who belong to a calling which does not generally hold a high rank in the scale of human consideration, viz. that of the tailor trade. I am disposed to consider, generally speaking, individuals of this rather despised caste, as the most intellectual men amongst the working classes. The value of recluse habits may hence be learnt, when combined with facilities for gaining and digesting knowledge. The parties I have alluded to above, so far as they came under my own observation, have been men of strong natural parts,

who have received a fair ordinary education, and have adopted plans for improving their faculties during their hours of leisure; and, not employed in crowded workshops, have had extraordinary and peculiar opportunities of pondering over the facts, ideas, and views that had been previously acquired in reading, in conversing, or in transacting affairs; and that during long solitary hours of manipulating labour. A retail dealer has no such opportunity; his business excludes deep contemplation; it is ceaselessly employed in the small mental occupation connected with the handing over of wares, and calculation of trivial prices. We have had instances of eminent men who have been shoemakers, such as Bloomfield, Struthers, and Carey, of Serampore.

The author has often had opportunity of attending on various celebrated preachers throughout the three kingdoms; but he has not unfrequently heard exhibited in the fellowship-meetings* of Scotland, from the lips of

* Fellowship meeting,—a modest unostentatious institution, long known in North Britain, where a few neighbours (seldom more than six or eight) meet weekly, on the evening of a set week-day, for devotional purposes; and among other exercises, to give each his opinion or commentary on a passage of Scripture, which had been appointed at the previous evening.

hard-working men, views of Scripture truth more masterly and sublime than it has ever been his lot to listen to from the pulpit, and expressed in language yet more energetic and significant. Such artless display, however, of matured knowledge, and glorious expression, has, in general, been confined to men whose solitary manual labour has, so to speak, forced them to digest their acquired knowledge, and to arrange and build up a store of well cogitated erudition in their minds.

Domestic Relations.—The principal band that unites society is that of the family connexion, consisting of the relationship of husband and wife, parent and child, with the fraternal links of home. The full examination of this important concatenation of human interest, ceaseless and ever reproducing itself, would profitably engage a whole essay bestowed upon its single consideration. We can only here briefly allude to the weighty duties of protection, rearing, nurture, education, which this astonishing connexion involves, with the love, affection, respect, mutual assistance, and the mass of benevolent continuous exertion which its invaluable requirements comprise.

It has been truly said that, if all governments in the world were rudely overturned by some great moral convulsion, and all the other bands of society broken up and ruptured, yet, if the family government and connexion remained unscathed in its integrity, this simple auspicious confederacy being reserved entire, would preserve society from utter dissolution, and once more restore it to order and system.

It is clear that the bands of the family constitution are of no ordinary strength; and we shall probably find, after the consideration of many different kinds of association, that none possesses a principle of more powerful adhesion and attachment. A constitution of a most blessed nature, where the gracious and skilful hand of the Creator may be remarked as displayed in an amazing and peculiar manner.

But what shall we say to a state of society, where this divine species of combination has been partially invaded or impaired,—where, from the forcible disjunction of uncontrollable circumstances, young or advancing children have been dissevered in whole or part from the benefits of parental solicitude and guardianship,—where fathers are greatly separated from the family,—where the mother is wrenched from

the domestic superintendence, and placed in such a position as she can neither watch and direct the mind, manners, and occupations of her daughters, nor even use the ordinary means of providing for the food and clothing of the family?

If this state of matters were duly examined, it would be found to exhibit a spectacle of frightful disorganization, likely to lead to permanent results of the most unpropitious nature. It is with pain that we glance at some parts of our manufacturing districts, as a palpable example of a case we have only supposed. And especial reference is made to the instances where mothers of families, instead of remaining at home, occupied in the domestic duties, go to work daily in the factories, separate from their children and their husbands,—where the children are dispersed, making separate wages from the parents, and having a separate interest,—where the scattered atoms of the family meet only to a hasty occasional meal of a few minutes' duration, perhaps once a day, and at night, half-fed, lie down exhausted, conversationless, uninstructed, prayerless, to start at the crow of cock once more to the languor of a monotonous and frequently unhealthy employment.

It is not inferred that this state of matters is irremediable; but no cure has yet been suggested on this point by the philanthropist or statesman; and many are ignorant of the facts.*

* For a very elaborate and learned discussion on the Domestic Constitution, see a work by the Rev. Christopher Anderson. 8vo. Edinburgh: 1826.

CHAPTER II.

NATURAL ASSOCIATION, (*continued.*)

ASSOCIATION OF A COMMON LANGUAGE—FRANCE AND BELGIUM, GREAT BRITAIN AND COLONIES—BABEL—IDENTITY OF NAME AN ELEMENT OF ASSOCIATION—MARRIED PERSONS—EFFECT OF PARTY NAMES—SIMILARITY OF COLOUR, ITS RESULTS—OF HAIR, OF SKIN—EFFECTS OF DEGRADATION OF BLACK RACES—ASSOCIATION ARISING FROM NEIGHBOURHOOD—OBSERVATIONS ON DENSE AND MORE SCATTERED POPULATION—ESPIONAGE OF NEIGHBOURS—DISSOCIATION OF LARGE TOWNS—SECLUSION IN LONDON—DISSOCIATING RESULTS OF OVER POPULATION OF CHINA—RECOGNITION OF NEIGHBOURS IN FOREIGN PARTS.

Common Language.—The ties that spring from the condition of parent and child, and husband and wife, may be considered as enforced directly by nature: but there are other bands that knit mankind together, which, although they be the result of an artificial state of society, do not form combinations so intentional, so directly constructed, as those we shall afterwards consider, under the head of Artificial Association.

Individuals and nations having a common

language are, by that circumstance alone, in some degree associated. Hence, we find that France and Belgium have had a considerable tendency to unite: and the youth of those Swiss cantons that speak French, are prone to look to Paris as a resort and opening to such as cannot obtain employment in their native country.

The connexion between Great Britain and the United States of America shall always be the more efficient, by reason of their common speech: and temporary interruptions of amity will thus be more easily removed. The literature of nations possessing this bond will be of a kindred description: the same poets, artists, authors, and philosophers, will please and instruct the several communities, and their mutual sympathies will be thus excited in a variety of ways. The French nation, although, by its progress in arts and knowledge, not unripe for the reformation from popery in the 16th century, did not embrace the new and enlightened tenets of Protestantism, as long as the secret was kept hid in Luther's foreign idiom: but whenever the Genevese introduced the new religion in a known language, it made immediate and rapid progress in all the French territories.

And the great engine which heaven, in remote antiquity, made use of for disuniting and rendering abortive the association for building the Tower of Babel, was to break up the bond of a similar language, and disperse abroad the elements of discord by the confusion of tongues.

It would appear, therefore, that the circumstance of the emigration of British inhabitants to distant shores shall not cut asunder all connexion with the mother land. Even though a disunion of state interests should occur, the fact of a common language will have the effect of a constant bond of connexion.

It might be said, that the learning of a competent variety of languages would have the effect of a cosmopolitan reunion of much of the present scattered fragments of mankind: and most of the educated inhabitants of continental Europe do speak several languages. Still, it is a long look, to even the most enthusiastic promoter of education, to expect the time of universal linguism, by whatever means. And, till this event take place, the bond of a common language will be found not only a useful, but delightful tie: witness the joyful impatience with which the Welsh and Highland Scotch congregate to sermons delivered in their native language, when

they have been for a long time deprived, by circumstances, of this source of enjoyment. And witness the dark and dreary state of the mute tourist, who stares despairingly through the streets and promenades of France, Italy, or Germany; solitary, and having the better part of human life hidden from him behind impenetrable curtains.

Identity of Name.—The accident of having the same name proves, with many, a bond of connexion. This is not, of itself, sufficient to account for the peculiar attachments of Scottish clanships: because, in their case, the similarity of name was attended with other causes of union, such as the inhabitation of one district under one chieftain, a community of interests, national and domestic, and various other ties that led to a very binding association. Nevertheless, it is undoubted, that the sympathy of a joint name leads often to serious conjunctions: and this apparently trivial circumstance has occasionally been the prevailing motive why large estates have been bequeathed to a fortunate individual, whose identity of name was the sole source of the preference.

Married persons in Europe assume a joint

name; in some parts of Switzerland the names of both husband and wife are compounded, and the joint name adopted.

The possessing a mere party name is sometimes a bond of connexion. We are informed, by a respectable author, "that after the death of the Emperor Frederic II. of Germany, the distinctions of Guelf and Ghibelin became destitute of all rational meaning. The most odious crimes were constantly perpetrated, and the utmost miseries endured, for an echo and a shade, that mocked the deluded enthusiasts of faction. None of the Guelfs denied the nominal, but indefinite sovereignty of the empire; and beyond a name, the Ghibelins themselves would have been little disposed to carry it. But the virulent hatreds attached to these words grew continually more implacable, till ages of ignominy and tyrannical government had extinguished every energetic passion in the bosoms of a degraded people."*

A name has, on all occasions, been found an organ of combination of considerable power. Those in our own time of Pitt, Fox, Howard, Bentham, Wesley, Malthus, Owen, Joanna

* Hallam's Middle Ages, i. 284.

Southcote, Edward Irving: and of Chartist, Radical, Whig and Tory: have all of them acted as potent spells, in connecting into firm confederacy otherwise dispersed and uncooperating agents. It would scarce be possible to form a party in church, state, literature, science, or for benevolent exertion, without the adoption of some single, simple appellation. Even a changeable name would impair the energy and operations of a political body. A newspaper or periodical, without a fixed title, would lose the most part of its ability of collecting readers. Although, therefore, it has been prettily said, "What is there in a name? A rose, by any other name, would smell as sweet;" still, as an instrument for accomplishing a certain degree of association, it is invaluable. It is a standard raised in full sight, having a large rallying power; and the ancient war-cries of "A Talbot, a Talbot!" "A Douglas, a Douglas!" used in the thick of fight, by furious soldiers, had the speedy effect of compacting the most energetic phalanx, to decide the most obstinate combats.

Similarity of Colour.—We shall be forced, in the prosecution of the subject, to allude to

elements of combination that may appear of a trifling and unimportant character; and as the general fabric of this essay will consist of the statement of a great many detached particulars, I must warn the reader, that we shall appear to pass hastily from one point to another, without sufficiently exhausting the topic: so that our observations will have more the appearance of a series of contents, and heads of discourse, than a systematic and well adjusted piece of reasoning. The multifarious nature, and great number of the elements, or results, of association in society, must be our excuse for the baldness and want of connexion of our remarks.

In the late Spanish peninsular war, during the siege of Badajos, several attempts to storm that place were attended with a merciless slaughter of our best troops. The method taken by Lord Lynedoch was to allow several majors of regiments to choose their own party for the attack, with the prospect of promotion to a lieutenant-colonelcy. The late Colonel Macintosh, of the 79th regiment, formed one of those forlorn hopes: he was allowed to receive volunteers from various regiments: and two hundred brave men followed him up to the breach, and attempted the storm; but the lad-

ders proving too short, they were, after a desperate resistance, forced to retreat, leaving three-fourths of their companions shot dead in the trenches. There were various reasons which might have excited the men to this terrible service: but it was thought singular, that the great majority of them had hair of a particular colour: and that the colonel's tresses were of the same hue. This trivial casualty, probably, served in some degree to associate these brave soldiers on that melancholy occasion.

If so trivial a sympathy as that of possessing red hair, in common with some others, produces a certain effect of coalition and attachment, perhaps the contrary circumstance may induce an amount, however slight, of repulsion. This may be considered as likely to be most observable in the case, where not the hair only, but the whole body is of opposite colour; as in the instance of the black and white races of mankind. It is presumable that, *ceteris paribus*, each party shall give some preference to its own tint. Perhaps there is no fair opportunity extant in the world, for a trial of this point. The black races, in their connexion with Europeans, at least, have hitherto been, from their political position, a degraded and despised

caste; and, therefore, repelled and debarred on this account alone. With regard to their feelings towards the whites, the same circumstances which have created an artificial antipathy to them, may have given occasion to generate in their sable bosoms a sentiment of veneration for their masters and conquerors: which may be the means, in ordinary circumstances, of effectuating feelings and inclinations of sympathy, attachment, gratitude, and admiration, which may counteract the natural confederacy of common colour, or repulsion to what is different.

Neighbourhood.—The condition, or state of neighbourhood, is one which has a powerful tendency to induce association. The sympathies of rural neighbourhoods are many. There are the same characteristic rivers, mountains, and natural scenery, the same unique church. In remote places, this principle of association from neighbourhood is strongest. In Wales and the highlands of Scotland it is more powerful than in the lowland and more populous parts of the country.

A gentleman of North Britain once observed, that his first acquaintance with the late remarkable General Sir John Downie took place during

the peninsular war, when the brigade to which he was attached came on their march in sight of a fine waterfall. One said it was like one thing, another said another: a person near the individual in question exclaimed, that it put him in mind of the Loup of Fintry, a cascade within a few miles of his own mansion-house. This person was Downie, then a subaltern, who was a native of Stirlingshire; and though the parties were unknown to each other before, this circumstance became a certain bond of connexion.

The sympathies of neighbourhood are more entire in the country than elsewhere. The inhabitants of a rural district meet each other much oftener than they meet strangers, and have greater mutual connexion in the way of business or recreation. This exclusive intercourse, arising from mere neighbourhood, becomes less observable in large villages than in the country, and the principle of association becomes less strong. In great towns it weakens; and disappears almost entirely in very crowded and extensive cities.

It is not unfrequently a complaint, that in a rustic district, or small village, people know too well what their neighbours are about; and the continued espionage exercised by one acquaint-

ance over another in a rural vicinity, proves to be sometimes irksome. This will be chiefly the case where the aggrieved individual is somewhat in advance of the general population, as to philosophic methods of spending his time or talents. Such a person being frequently and necessarily singular, and his views not being understood or appreciated, he may be subjected to a vexatious criticism, and harassing interference with his modes of life. The sage, in these circumstances, may sometimes sigh for a change, and be almost willing to barter his blue skies and green swards for the crowded haunts of the capital, where, no doubt, his hands and linen become, in a few hours, of a very dingy hue; but where, nevertheless, he may eat, drink, dress, sleep, doze, read, worship, write, and recreate himself at those times, and in those methods, that suit his pleasure, without being obliged to render a strait account of these matters to the authoritative ignorance of every boisterous 'squire, or prying mistress of a family, in his adjacency.

Nevertheless, upon the whole, and as regards the mass of the inhabitants, it is not improbable that rather a wholesome surveillance is acquired and sustained over general manners and morals, amidst unthronged and heedful population. I

have been informed by intelligent men in North Britain, that the carelessness of parents, in regard to the education of their children, is more perceptible among dense swarms of town population, than in the country: and the circumstance was by them attributed to the fact, that in the country it could be observed who were deficient in this respect; and the shame which was due to such conduct, attached itself and clung to a guilty individual in a rural community, in a way that could not be evaded, as it might, and was, in more crowded circles.

It is clear, also, that larger measures of inveterate depravity are dealt out in the stated resorts and concourse of multitudes, than in less densely peopled districts; because evil has leave in the former to gather and grow, and aggrandize itself unmolested by the criticism of an observant neighbourhood, part of whose comfort and peace depends less, in this case, upon the watchfulness of a trained police, than upon the decorum and spontaneous good behaviour of the general body.

If it be a fact, too, that on the whole case, and upon the general average of human life, men are apt to perform towards each other more acts of kindness, courtesy, and benevolence than the

ontrary, and if it be allowed that rural or illage neighbourhoods present a closer personal ntercourse, and greater opportunities of such ıcts, either of beneficence or its contrary, then t will follow, that a greater amount of happiness in this particular, shall be daily elicited n the less crowded districts, than in swarming cities.

In country districts, when a stranger comes to settle, it is counted only ordinary politeness and hospitality to wait upon and thus welcome him to the place. But in large cities, especially in London, it is not unfrequent, that families may live many years, not only in the same street, but in the next house, and yet have no acquaintance with each other. But as the word "neighbourly," in popular language, signifies a kind and civil person, so the association of neighbourhood is a principle that naturally influences the human race, when not forced into the artificial and factitious conjunction of a large city. There seems something like a principle of *dissociation* to exist in places like London; and various moral causes are not wanting to this result. The opportunities of deceit and mischief are frequent in large communities; and they are the resort of sharpers and rogues. Hence mankind

are on the defensive in the metropolis: the chances are not few that our next door neighbour, in London, may be of exceptionable character,—perhaps a swindler; and our hearts are prudently steeled against the whole human race, except those who are proved, on the authority of experience or testimony, to be worthy of credit. In the country, stranger settlers are few; their characters are the more easily ascertained; and a perpetual suspicion and mistrust is not an absolute requisite for the practice and enjoyment of country life.

The principles, therefore, that bind society together in London, must be sought for elsewhere than in the sympathies of neighbourhood; and with very little arrangement, a man may be nearly a complete hermit in that world of streets and human faces.

We have known of elderly bachelors, of easy fortune, in London, who seem to have become totally independent of colloquial intercourse, or of the ties of friendship and kindred altogether, —who, separated from blood relations, live in lodgings solitarily, having little confabulatory commerce with the world at all, save through the medium of their landlady, who orders their butcher meat, wines, groceries, and other ac-

commodations, in a regular but silent routine. Nay, it is believed, that the voice of the bell at the exact minute, or the wave of the hand for the handkerchief or snuff-box, does occasionally so supersede the use or necessity of language, that the voluntary recluse may, for twenty-four hours together, have no occasion to open his chops at all, except for yawning or for food.

It is evident that in such a state of life, where the human tendencies and the feelings of nature are suspended after this manner, these are likely to die out from want of exercise: and although the above is an extreme case, yet the approach to it, which obtains in such a mass of human existence as London, must have rather an unfavourable effect on society. Sometimes a monstrous cat, in such a forlorn case, may be the reservoir of the kindness of some minds naturally prone to benignant affections. Among females, the lap-dog seems at present in the metropolis the most approved channel for the overflow and surplus of their otherwise restrained and locked-up fondness, although the mournful looks of the poor little shag-eared wretches, pining from the windows of the carriage in the park, do not evince the most skilful method

having been yet attained of ministering to canine comfort.

All this, however, is clearly not so buoyant and healthful a state of society, as that where we are seen in a rural walk, among pendent branches, chucking the chin, or patting the rosy cheeks of some neighbour's children, or dropping the willing shilling into the palm of old Peggy Jarvis, accompanied with a rough word or two on some human frailty we have remarked.

Districts, therefore, which are over-peopled, do not on that account always become the more social; and it is somewhat remarkable, that the inhabitants of China, the largest and most densely populated empire in the world, are conspicuous for the absence of sociality. We are informed by travellers, that a principle of coldness and repulsion pervades society there: the families have little communication with each other: there are few meetings for conversation or amusement: there is no religious congregational worship: even at feasts there is little conviviality, and they take their sullen place at separate tables: a chill and ceremonious apathy damps the glow of social feeling: their business is as solitary as possible: and much of their

recreation consists in the selfish enjoyment of opium, and drunken dreams of pleasure, never to arise in the sordid seclusion of their booths and arbours.

There are political philosophers who advocate the cause of flourishing and dense population, as likely, in many respects, to lead to the happiness of communities; who rejoice in the enlargement of villages into towns, and at the periodical multiplication of metropolitan inhabitants. Before coming to a conclusion, however, on this subject, there are many circumstances to be taken into account, and, among others, the unhappy effects of a crowded census upon the socialness of life.

Before leaving the point of neighbourhood, we may notice one singular circumstance connected with it. We have often seen, it may be, an individual, our fellow-citizen in a provincial town, without acknowledging him, because he did not happen to be of our acquaintance. But meeting the same person in a foreign land, or perhaps in some remote part of our native island, we make up to him at once, shake him by the hand, and recognise him as comparatively an intimate friend. Here the social principle

of neighbourhood was latent, and was elicited by a joint separation from a common nativity, or place of residence. It may be here added, that the circumstance of having the same birth-place may be also mentioned as an element of association.

CHAPTER III.

NATURAL ASSOCIATION, (*continued.*)

JOINT HEAD OR LEADER—PRINCIPLE OF LOYALTY—JOINT TEACHER—COMMON ADMIRATION—PITT AND FOX—POPULAR CLERGYMAN—A SIXTIETH PART OF THE POPULATION GOVERNS THE REST—CASE OF LORD EXMOUTH AND THE SHIPWRECKED TRANSPORT—POPULAR SUPERSTITIONS ASSOCIATE—MEDICINAL SPRINGS, WATERING PLACES ALSO, AND TRAVELLING—UNITY OF OPINION—POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS PARTIES—HOW FAR UNIVERSAL UNITY OF SENTIMENT CAN BE OBTAINED—PUBLIC PRESS, ITS POWER OF ASSOCIATION, AND THE REVERSE—MORAL VIS INERTIÆ.

Common Head, or Leader.—The condition of having a common head, or leader, attaches and binds men together. We shall again examine, more particularly, that species of association which is effected by regular municipal government; but, independent of other particulars, it appears that there is a principle of association in the possession of a joint leader alone. A tribe of people under dominion of one king are, therefore, in some degree associated by that circumstance itself: and we see a curious variety

of social subordination in the kingdoms of Abyssinia and Bornou, in Africa. There regal dominion and influence is held to attach to the mere corporal presence of their legitimate monarch, but yet this influence may be exercised and wielded by others than the king himself; and among the contests of the great chiefs and nobility for supreme authority, he who succeeds in gaining possession of the person of the sovereign, and can maintain the property of his prize, enjoys a general sway as temporary regent of the kingdom. The king is, however, himself always a captive and mere cypher. The particulars of this singular description of government may be seen in Mr. Bruce's and in Major Denham's travels.

We pause for a moment to consider what has been called the principle of loyalty to the reigning king or chief. "The peculiar sentiment of personal reverence towards a sovereign which we denominate loyalty, is alike distinguishable from the stupid devotion of eastern slaves, and from the abstract respect with which free citizens regard their chief magistrate. . . . It was a powerful feeling, which could make the bravest men put up with slights and ill-treatment at the hand of their sovereign: or

call forth all the energies of disinterested exertion for one whom they never saw, and in whose character there was nothing to esteem. In ages when the rights of the community were unfelt, this sentiment was one great preservative of society; and though collateral, or even subservient, to more enlarged principles, it is still indispensable to the tranquillity and permanence of every monarchy. In a moral view, loyalty has, perhaps, scarcely less tendency to refine and elevate the heart than patriotism itself; and holds a middle place in the scale of human motives, as they ascend from the grosser inducements of self-interest, to the furtherance of general happiness, and conformity to the purposes of Infinite Wisdom."*

The following may exemplify some results of association formed by the circumstances of instruction under a joint teacher. "A young man was no sooner arrived at the port, than a band of students rushed upon him, belonging to some sophist, who made him absolute prisoner, and by all means of persuasion and partial force insisted on an oath to join their own particular teacher. Sometimes one press-gang of this

* Hallam's Middle Ages, p. 229.

kind was overmastered by another in a di interest, and the novice was rescued only subjugated under another professor, whc all, may not have been the instructor h predetermined to sit under."*

The joint admiration of some consp character forms also a bond of union, altl perhaps, this junction may be strengthen unity of sentiment on some subjects of ir ance. The approbation of the character Pitt, or of Mr. Fox, in the beginning c century, led to a species of association description. Sir Walter Scott thus write

> "With more than mortal power endowed,
> How high they soared above the crowd;
> Like fabled gods, their mighty war
> Shook realms and nations in its jar.
> Beneath each banner proud to stand,
> Looked up each noblest in the land
> Till through the British world were known
> The names of Pitt and Fox alone.
> Spells of such force, no wizard grave
> E'er framed in dark Thessalian cave,
> Though his could drain the ocean dry,
> And force the planets from the sky."

The circumstance of being placed und charge of some favourite and popular c

* Journal of Education, p. 262.

man, sometimes proves a uniting link referrible to this head. It is always, therefore, of importance to have the clergyman or chief magistrate of any parish or town in favour of a proposed improvement. It is said that if Francis I. king of France had, in the sixteenth century, embraced the reformed religion, all the French would have been Protestants. The leader of a sect, therefore, is always a mighty associator of others. Mahomet associated various nations into his superstition. There is such a disposition in men to unite under a common head, that the adoption of a mere name is, sometimes, of no little use for this purpose. Thus the ultra Calvinists are said to be more Calvinistic than Calvin himself was: their union is as much, or more, that of possessing a peculiar set of opinions under a given name, as the being mere followers of John Calvin. A small part, only, of any population governs the rest; perhaps one-sixtieth part. In every community there are a few minds, comparatively, that think for the others, and associate them for any purpose, and in any sentiment: if the majority of these can be gained, the purpose shall in time be accomplished.

A singular case of sudden and effective combination, of the description under notice, occurs in the life of Admiral Lord Exmouth, then Sir Edward Pellew. A transport was driven ashore under the citadel at Plymouth, where she lay beating and rolling in a tremendous and impassable surf. At this moment Sir Edward and his lady were proceeding along, with a view to dine at a friend's. He sprang out of his carriage, and ran along with the crowd to the beach; and at once saw that the loss of nearly all on board, near six hundred persons, was inevitable, *without some one to direct them.* The officers had abandoned their charge, and would not return: they had landed by a single rope, which formed the only communication with the ship, and by this, with much danger and personal injury, he was hauled, through the surf and wreck of masts, on board. He reached the deck, declared who he was, and assumed the command. He threatened death to disobedience, but assured the multitude of safety if they gave effectual obedience. The dispersed elements of order and joint operation re-united; the well-known name of the hero, the calmness and energy he displayed, gave confidence to the despairing multitudes. His first efforts were

received by cheers from those on board, which were re-echoed from the crowds on shore. A small boat was got alongside; the ends of two additional hawsers were got on shore; cradles were contrived and slung upon them, with travelling ropes to and from the beach. Each hawser was held on shore by a number of men, who watched the rolling of the wreck, and kept the ropes tight and steady. A cutter, with great difficulty, worked out of Plymouth Pool, and received the more helpless of the passengers. Sir Edward, with a drawn sword, directed all the proceedings; every one was ultimately saved, and presently the wreck went to pieces. Had dissociation continued, the whole multitude would have perished.

In considering the various states of things that elicit and put into operation the principle of association, we are met with by one which might be set forth as wide ranging in all its various effects and consequences; I mean, public opinion. This phrase, however, expresses a wider subject than is denoted by any one element; and, to suit our purpose, must be viewed as separated into its component parts; for public opinion, taken in a less abstracted sense, is not a unit thing, but a series of judgments on a

variety of subjects. We must, therefore, break it down in detail.

Popular Superstitions.—The popular superstitions of a country form one department of its public opinion, and constitute an element that leads to association; and, among other examples, we may advert to the pilgrimages of large masses of people that are made to the shrines of saints in Roman Catholic countries. This disposition began in Europe in the 11th century, and kings and nobles joined in these processions. The places most visited were Jerusalem, and Rome; Compostella, in Spain; and Tours, in France; and many still resort to the Cottage of Loretto, in Italy, under the supposition of its once having been the habitation of the Virgin Mary.

In Ireland the practice of pilgrimages still continues, chiefly to the White Lake, in Donegal, where, in the summer months, several thousands of devotees resort. In Mahomedan countries, multitudes of pilgrims repair to Mecca, and in Hindostan incredible numbers crowd yearly to the shrines of Juggernaut and other idols.

Medicinal Springs.—Sometimes association is

formed by the resort of individuals to medicinal springs and watering-places in quest of health: the proprietors of houses, and others locally interested, frequently make a point of adding to the medical attractions of their spa, by maintaining a system of incitements and facilities for amusement and whiling away the time. Accordingly, we find many of these places of concourse profusely supplied with all the party coloured and diverse stock and fixed capital of fashionable recreation. In connexion with the subject of watering-places, we may just hint that the remembrance of former pursuits, and a similar line of life, not unfrequently leads to association of certain kinds. Persons now living in this country, who have spent their youth and middle age in the East or West Indies, and retired naval and military men, are apt to unite and draw together, their habits and modes of life, and recollections of the past, producing this tendency. Hence, Cheltenham is the principal point of attraction to those who have returned to this country from India, because this happens to have been the place of resort of Anglo-Indians for some time past.

The multitudinous concourse to watering-places, or the encounter of new faces and

manners which is undergone in travelling on the continent, or in our own country, may be set under the category of gregarious collocation, rather than that a supposition should be formed that any new bond of socialness is thereby acquired. Nevertheless, it occasionally happens, that in such wayfaring mixture of individuals and parties, a tourist or wanderer finds himself dropped into the society of those whose intercourse may be to him unusually agreeable; not only from the novelty of the circumstances, or from the fascinations, it may be, of preeminent elegance of manners, and superiority of taste discovered in his new associates. But, in such casual collections of company, minds of kindred cast, having a large amount of common sympathies, are occasionally thrown together; and, if high intellect, great power of expression, and benevolent feeling, are part of the congregated compound, no doubt, in the companionable intercourse that may arise, elevated degrees of supervenient social enjoyment may be the result. This often forms one of the supreme pleasures of travelling; but it is one which the retired, cautious, and secretive manners of our nation prevent a Briton from tasting so extensively as natives of other countries. We shall have

occasion afterwards to consider how far British travelling on the continent has the effect of preventing the existence of war, the grand dissociator of nations.

Unity of Opinion.—A unity of opinion on political and religious subjects has always been in this country a strong tie of fellowship and confederacy; and difference of sentiment on these important topics has often proved a powerful and even violent element of dissociation. The *odium theologicum* has immemorially been a theme of triumph to some, of profound grief to others, and of wonder to all. It is a popular mistake to confine this odium, in regard to counter sentiments, to religious professors entirely. Men have a natural pleasure in those whose opinions accord with their own, even on trifling subjects, and a disinclination to meet with opposition of sentiment. But when the matter is of weight and deep interest, these contrary feelings are excited to the highest degree. He who is accused of holding heretical views, or of nonconformity to scripture maxims on some particular point, finds his all at stake; his very hopes of heaven, in some cases, arraigned and called in question. Hence, it

requires an advanced state in the christian life, much lowliness of mind, and stedfast confidence in the essentials of faith, to be able to endure such an imputation with temper or forgiveness. But the bloody disputes among the Nominalists and Realists, on mere metaphysical points, in the 13th century, and the virulent contests that have occurred on political questions in all ages, demonstrate that difference on religious points is by no means the only source of hatred and dissociation.

There are, probably, in this country not fewer than six political parties, whose opinions are obviously distinct from each other, and whose operations are either permanently or occasionally separate or antagonist. Their opinions range from those of ultra-monarchical and aristocratical to the other extreme of democracy; and this, although none of the parties descend to sentiments absolutely anarchical, or rise to such despotic extremes as characterise the opinions of other European statists, or even those of part of the political combatants of Charles the First's time in our own country. In fact, whatever noise and agitation may be made in the conflict of our constitutional parties, there is, after all, no very extensive range of disagreement between them.

The differences in religious affairs are more numerous, and may be classed under two general heads: first, those that relate to the external government and discipline of churches; and second, those that refer to points of doctrine; and, perhaps, this last might afford another division, if men's passions would permit the conciliatory distinction, of those disputes that bear reference to essentials and those that touch only the non-essentials of salvation. The grand divisions of church government seem to be those of Episcopacy, Presbytery, and Independentcy: besides other partitions of a minor character, which, however, sometimes effect a more rancorous severance than the principal disjunctions. If difference of opinion has thus dissevered the mass of the Christian church in this country into adverse portions, there appears to have been for this a compensatory reaction towards union, in the fact, that each portion seems only thus the more closely compacted together in its own members, by reason of the external dissociating pressure: for the Christian may have often occasion to weep, on finding that his heart more frequently opens its portals to one who agrees with him on some trivial point, which shall be uncared for, or unknown, in eternity,

while it is inexorably shut to the man who avowedly and indubitably string a sympho harp in heaven.

Although abstractedly truth is one, c points, yet in the present state of human n and human knowledge, it seems a vain exp tion to hope for a universal unity of opi and, perhaps, the grand evil that arises this state of things, is the anger, envy, m and jealousy which we are so apt to p ourselves to indulge towards those who with us, and dispute.

The endeavour, by the Church of Rom force all its members into one uncontr opinion on its tenets and doctrines, has be failure,* as probably has been that small att of South British legislation to force t jurymen into one opinion upon a simple of fact.

It would add amazingly to the mass of h happiness in the British dominions, if th habitants were taught from their youth, inured in their mature age, to strive and str to regard with amity and complacency who differ from them in opinion.

* Edgar on Variations of Popery. 8vo. Dublin.

Public Press.—With regard to the liberty of the Public Press, this great organ may be said to be a proximate agent in association to a mighty degree; in so far as it opens up, extends, ramifies, and applies the energies of all the multitudinous circumstances that act as elements and principles of conjunction. But as it is the immediate engine of wide and vast association, so it proves, also, the occasion of considerable dissociation.

A prodigious variety of opinions are spread abroad by means of a free press; and it confirms these by argument and by the power of joint numbers. In some cases it takes the veil off society and discovers its internal workings and operations; and, by showing a multitude that they agree in some view or pursuit, it unites them, and spreads the particular sentiment by the imposing influence of numerical authority. It is necessary to the operations of any great association, that it should not only use the press generally, but possess a periodical of its own. The permanence, the progress, the working of the society, makes a peculiar organ necessary. What could be effected by any of the leading political parties in the nation without the instrumentality of appropriate

newspapers, magazines, reviews, and even caricatures? The more extensive benevolent associations have found their account in a somewhat similar manner of proceeding; and even in the promotion of railways throughout the land, it has not been thought superfluous to institute a Railway Gazette. By this means all the intelligence that can be brought to bear upon a question, or series of questions, is collected.

In many cases the public prints exclude every other view of a subject, excepting their own; and, for this purpose, either omit the narrative of facts, or distort them. People of the faction, sentiment, or association, are thus kept in the very atmosphere of party, and from long habit, and bending of the mind in a particular direction, become incapable of thinking uprightly, or withdrawing from the strong bonds that have been wound around them. We have known individuals of respectable mental faculties, who would nearly as soon touch a red-hot horse-shoe, as a newspaper in an opposite interest from their own. And if a member of their household had been caught perusing the columns of an antagonist periodical, he had been summarily convicted of high crime and misdemeanour.

Vis Inertiæ.—We must not omit to mention a constituent part of human nature, which, although it does not tend to produce association where it did not exist before, yet, being once established, it is the means of maintaining it. I mean a moral *vis inertiæ*, or inclination that things should remain as they are. In physics *vis inertiæ* is defined to be a passive principle, by which bodies persist in their motion or rest; it is a negative power implanted in all matter, whereby it resists any change endeavoured to be made in its state.

This principle has chiefly reference to a future branch of our subject, as being applicable to those regularly formed associations which are the product of art and design, rather than to those elements of combination which exist naturally in all men. We shall, therefore, again refer to it.

CHAPTER IV.

ARTIFICIAL ASSOCIATION.

ARTIFICIAL ASSOCIATION, ITS ELEMENTS IN MANKIND—ITS CLAIMS—POLITICAL GOVERNMENT—PREPAREDNESS IN PEOPLE FOR FREE CONSTITUTIONS—RUSSIA—GENERAL EDUCATION—TRAINING OF PEOPLE FOR PUBLIC MANAGEMENT—DANGER OF REVOLUTIONARY PLUNGES—ASSOCIATING ELEMENTS IN GOVERNMENT—JOINT INTEREST—VIS INERTIÆ—OBEDIENCE—DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS—ORGANIC CHANGES—EDUCATIONAL DIPLOMA OF FRANCHISE PROPOSED.

We now proceed to consider that species of association which is artificially constructed and designedly reduced to regular form.

Man has the capacity of entering into compacts of association, and a tendency and inclination to do so; and to maintain association once formed. A moral mechanical power is obtained in this manner, just as a force is constituted in physics by the use of the lever or screw. In the case of association union is strength, a common cause is prodigiously promoted by joint measures. Many small streams are united into one current; deep, broad, capable of bearing

away before it strenuous difficulties. An opinion given forth by one, and maintained by a second person, acquires plausibility not in a simple but in an augmented ratio. A third, fourth, and fifth spokesman or writer on the same side, seems to clinch the claims set forth into absolute irrefragability.

Besides the advancing of a particular cause, we may by association secure convenience to ourselves, accommodation, profit or pleasure; as in the case of insurance companies, friendly and benefit societies, joint stock concerns, literary or musical clubs; nay, association may be a source of protection to life and property, as in the case of municipal corporations, and political government.

To obtain these advantages, a certain active agency must be put in motion, as well as passive submission be exercised, and this may involve a measure of inconvenience, or a series of circumstances, in their own nature unpleasing, but which are borne with for the sake of the benefits that association affords. In entering upon some fellowship or alliance, we perhaps subject ourselves to a course that may more or less occupy much valuable time, engross deep attention, tend to lower our precedence in

society, abstract money from our purses, or even peril our property; or embarrass and implicate in laborious transactions, drag into circumstances of trouble, distress or personal danger. We may find it necessary to curb and restrain ourselves, in certain points, of our ordinary freedom; we may become bound not to follow divisive courses, which, otherwise innocent, might tend to weaken the confederacy; we must restrain occasionally our private opinion, and submit to petty grievance or more violent aggression. These are a few of the unwelcome positions we sometimes assume in order to obtain the copious and fruitful benefits of association.

Political Government.—The most remarkable example of Artificial Association to which we shall attend is the combination which results from regular established government, under which men live in separate kingdoms, commonwealths, and communities. In exchange for the benefits of the security of life and property, and to ensure advantages that can only be obtained in a state of national association, mankind have in all ages found it expedient to sacrifice a certain portion of their natural liberty or

unrestrainedness, and submit to the confinement of municipal government by obedience to a common head.

Although it might be difficult to point out a case of actual compact between any government and its people; and impossible to show an instance of regular corporate and municipal confederacy from a previous state of chaos and incohesion; yet, as every person of ordinary attainments, in his adherence to a particular country, acts upon a choice in some degree, however slight, voluntarily made and maintained, there seems good ground for viewing political government, in some respects, as a voluntary conventional association, on the part of its subjects and members.

The general principles of government, the authority it possesses, the mode of its constitution and operation in various different states, its modifications into legislative, executive, and judicial,—are subjects foreign to this essay. But it falls to us to advert to the principles of association that are at work in reference to established government in any country.

We may be permitted, therefore, in elucidation of our own subject to appear to digress into a few observations relative to different

species of governments, in so far as their construction may indicate a greater cohesion and coercing power lodged in the executive; or where this department may swallow up the others, as in some of the severer forms of Asiatic or African polity.

It may be received generally that, as people are prepared for a free government, they shall obtain it. With regard to what may be considered a preparation for a liberal constitution, a due degree of ordinary education spread abroad throughout the land seems necessary; with a certain share of training and practice in rule and management of public business. Inhabitants of empires where a deep and general ignorance reigns, seem incapable at once of making use of a free constitution. And even those who are possessed to some extent of the elementary instruction of reading and writing, may be no way competent to appreciate and assist the benefits of a free government, because they are unacquainted with the principles, forms and methods of conducting public affairs; and may be little qualified to conceive the notion that measures may be for general good, although they may appear to aggrieve particular individuals or classes.

In our own country, particularly in the northern parts of it, the mass of the people are in some measure generally instructed in the art of conducting what may be termed public business, in contradistinction to private or family affairs. The management of a friendly society or benefit club infers a portion, however small, of management of a joint concern which has the interests of a plurality at stake, and rejects the consultation or consideration of mere private and personal interest. The direction of a benevolent, educational, missionary, literary, economical, or political society, involves the necessity of the same capacity for general and public undertakings and managements.

"There is scarcely," says Professor Raumer, of Berlin, "an art or science, scarcely any thing agreeable, useful, or instructive, for which the English have not established special societies, and thus wonderfully increased and strengthened the imperfect means and powers of individual men. The value, the efficiency, the simplicity of such unions is conspicuous in each and all; especially as individuals in England have more resources at their command than in other countries, while fewer general schemes or important improvements originate with the government."

It has been stated that savages and slaves seem much to want those tendencies which direct men to combine and act together on great emergencies; that among the Spaniards in the Peninsular war there was little apparent desire or power to act in concert; and that the native Indian States have the same incapacity for joint action. The gregariousness of the Irish is a singular feature in their character. Their combined movements seem to be more in large unorganized masses, than in compact and adjusted associations.

To return, however, to the general circumstances of the United Kingdom, in reference to this topic; the office of juryman constitutes a private man a public judge, with a high and sacred responsibility. The post of justice of peace, and magistrate of town, has the same effect. The functions of vestry-man, churchwarden, constable, all confer a measure of municipal power on private citizens; and in North Britain the lay eldership involves a large extent both of civil and ecclesiastical duty.

In Russia public education is not utterly neglected; but all kinds of knowledge that might confer such a training as we have described are prohibited; hence, although the promulgation

of medical and mathematical science is encouraged in the universities of the autocrat, metaphysical or political knowledge is for the most part proscribed. The first is useful for the armies that are destined to keep the imperial dominions in restraint and integrity, and to answer the purpose of foreign aggrandizement; but the last might throw a light upon the inevitable corruptions of despotism, that would be inconvenient or even fatal.

The surest, safest, speediest, and most fundamental method of obtaining a liberal government, is by spreading general education over all the nation; and not only mere elementary instruction, but the infusion of a portion of philosophic and scientific knowledge throughout every rank of society. That part of the aristocracy of a country which is hostile to change, and jealous of its own vested rights, knows this fact as if by instinct; and leaves nothing undone to prevent, impede, or harass the progress of universal knowledge among the people. And this it endeavours either by the strong hand, as in the case of the Southern State Americans, with a degree of horrible and merciless impudence prohibiting the teaching of Negro slaves altogether; or in certain quarters in our own

country, by chicanery and evasion, and insinuations that knowledge among the poor is prejudicial to good government, and hurtful to religion.

We have said that a progress of universal education is the speediest method of obtaining a liberal franchise in any country, and this may be thought rather a slow process. But abortive attempts at expanding the liberties of any community are, in general, unfavourable to the end in view; and where the mass of the people are, in their stage of knowledge, inadequate to the management of public affairs, the certain consequence of these untimely political miscarriages is either a hardening up of aristocratic power to a greater rigour than before, or even a military despotism. These consequences had place in the case of our own commonwealth, in 1642—1660; and in the French revolutionary period of 1789—1799. On the whole, revolutionary plunges are to be avoided, and a due, though it may be a tardy, preparation of the people is good in all great organic changes.

There are several principles of association at work in reference to established political government. Of these we shall notice some:—

1. *Joint Interest.*—The principle of joint

interest is in action; and although in many particular cases it may appear contrary to the welfare of individuals to continue in all minute points faithful in their obedience to the national sanctions, yet, if this conduct is for their interest upon the whole, men are willing to continue members of the national association.

2. *Neighbourhood.*—The principle of neighbourhood, which we have already considered, forms also one of those elements of association that unite men in one kingdom—attachment to country, to neighbours, friends, relations,—adherence to place of birth,—and love of the land of our forefathers.

3. *Vis Inertiæ.*—There is, moreover, a very important element in the association of government in the principle of moral *vis inertiæ*, to which we have already referred. Men, for the most part, do not choose their own government; they have been born native denizens of some particular state, and there they find a willingness to remain in *statu quo*, unless some powerful stimulant prevails, and wrenches them from the seat to which they are naturally prone to adhere in careless repose.

In 1789, when the whole existing state of society in France seemed ready to explode; and

when the assembling of the States-General was commenced, the great body of the common people still remained careless spectators of the universal commotion and struggle that was impending, few of them took the trouble of voting at the elections, and where a thousand were expected to come forward, not perhaps fifty made their appearance. It seems also, in the case of Weimar, and other small states in Germany, when free constitutions were not long ago accorded to them by some of the more liberal of the sovereigns, there appeared a considerable disposition to linger and waver in taking possession of the political boon that had been conferred. Not a few would have been willing to have been saved the trouble of governing themselves, and there were many ludicrous symptoms of a desire in some quarters to cause the king once more to assume the burden and responsibility of an absolute legislative power.

A great obstacle to innovation and improvement lies in the element of *vis inertiæ*. When there is a predominant disposition to *inertia* in a nation, it becomes an easy matter for an oppressive government, being established, to domineer over the comfort, the property, rights, and even lives, of the subjects. But, on the

other hand, a good and parental government is greatly assisted by this principle in neutralizing and balancing the attempts of agitators and incendiaries on the general peace.

4. *Obedience.*—The principle of obedience assists in preserving the civil association of government. If there is a tendency to domineer and take supremacy among some of mankind, there is also a tendency among others to submit to authority; and more especially, if the ascendancy is considered lawful. People have been taught to obey the government from their youth, and habit forms a material ingredient in the elements of submission. Nay, even the mere appearance of legal authority sometimes has a prodigious effect; as was perceptible in the influence attained by the revolutionary tribunals in France, in the very jaws of confusion and ruin.

But, besides the legitimate and natural sources of peaceful association under national dominion that have been mentioned, governors have invented fictitious motives and grounds of obedience, such as, the *divine right of kings* to govern without being responsible to their subjects, and the doctrine of *passive obedience* to municipal authority.

We have now adverted to the following elements as forming some of the items of national political coherence, viz.—joint interest, neighbourhood, attachment to place of birth and to relations, *vis inertiæ*, the principle of obedience, education, habit, scruples as to the divine right of kings in monarchical states; to these must be added, the consciousness of the transcendent benefits of law and civil government, and an innate sentiment of loyalty and fidelity to what is the source of so much national advantage.

When once a beneficent government becomes oppressive, or when the eyes of the people are open to the demerits of a dynasty which has long borne an iron sway; or when the natural advance of preparedness in the people renders any organic variation requisite, it does not appear that the change which may be contemplated by the subjects, has necessarily absolute dissociation in view; or that the bands of society shall all be snapt asunder, and a principle of general repulsion be set in operation. In the preparation for an organic change in any government, the associating elements of joint interest, neighbourhood, or the principle of obedience to all rule, good or bad, are not

necessarily to be given up or abandoned; but the ingredients of educational habits of submission to a particular dynasty, and the doctrine of the divine right of a particular series of kings, and passive obedience, seem likely to be dismissable in the nature of all revolutions.

But, although it may not be intended that the change should lead to abstract dissociation, yet it must be admitted that all revolutionary alterations are not accomplished without imminent danger of explosion. That condition of a community, therefore, seems most favourable, where the government is not obdurate and unyielding; but which, while sufficiently stable to ensure legitimate and constitutional liberty, possesses at the same time a pliant and flexile quality of accommodation and improvement, and which, when the period of effective claim for change arrives, presents no insurmountable obstacle to the work of gradual and beneficial alteration. The cases of the British government and that of the United States of America seem to offer specimens of this last description; and those of several eastern sovereignties exhibit states, the principle of whose dominion is rigid and inexorable, and where any extensive and useful change is in danger of being accomplished

through the explosion of a vast and anarchical revolution. The old French government seems also to have been so stiffened by the inflexible vested rights of the monarchy, the nobility, and priesthood, that nothing short of breaking the whole engine could achieve a liberal framework and constitution.

Here we should have closed this chapter, and an apology is due for appearing to wander into a digression from the subject; but the considerations that have been laid down seem to lead into a few moments' contemplation of what follows:—

Some years ago the author was placed in circumstances to observe with pain and chagrin various obtacles that presented themselves to the progress of scientific education and advanced knowledge among certain classes of artizans in North Britain, whose almost unassisted endeavours in this laudable object he had an opportunity of witnessing. In a parliamentary investigation, which occurred about that time, the following question was put to him, and the answer annexed was given in reply:—

"What legislative measures would be beneficial?

"*Answer.*—I have been in use to suggest

that public boards might be appointed in various parts, with power to examine any candidate in reading, writing, arithmetic; in such foreign language as might be thought necessary; in such knowledge of theology and philosophy as might be thought sufficient; and if the candidate be found qualified, he might, on farther certificate of character, receive a qualification to vote for a member of parliament. This would create a desire for solid education among operatives."

At the period in question, the author had merely in view, in suggesting such a proceeding, the giving additional stimulation and encouragement to young mechanics to addict themselves to mental improvement, to serve as a balance to the vexatious and disconcerting obstacles to advanced education which exist even among the usages of the working classes themselves. On several years' further consideration of this subject, however, he thinks that he perceives additional grounds for suggesting the above for the consideration of others.

Although there are large masses of the agricultural working population of South Britain and Ireland uneducated and unintelligent, and not prepared for management of public affairs

in the manner formerly stated, yet there are many individuals in manufacturing districts and elsewhere who are so. These men are not so blind as that they cannot perceive that they and their compeers are quite as equal to the task of legislation, as those senators who, for years, had locked up the national family feeling of the nation by overloaded post-office taxation, and thereby impeded the current of kindly affections and the spread of science; or who have enacted and maintained illjudged and pernicious monopolies; or bloodthirsty codes, that have not prevented, but augmented crime; or have permitted a deteriorating system of prison management to supervene over the whole empire; have omitted or rejected judicious schemes of national education, so that England is prodigiously in the rear in that respect of the United States of America, and some parts of continental Europe; have for ages kept up a system of agrarian spoliation under the name of Poor Laws, that threatens, if not checked, to swamp all the property in the country, and has already nearly ruined, in some cases, the independent, manly character of the English peasantry; and in short, who have displayed ingenuity and skill only in fallacious and

nugatory attempts to lower the national debt, without altering the national expenditure; in schemes for increasing the diffusion and sale of alcoholic liquors among the millions; or for the multiplication of pheasants, hares, and partridges.

Intelligent men among the working classes know that it is a mere farce to say that they are less competent to judge of these matters than the aristocracy have proved themselves to be; and they feel as if trodden down and insulted, on being refused their share of the franchise.

On the other hand, sudden and great organic changes are not to be tampered with; and political plunges are perilous. It is admitted that, to large masses of the people, it would be inexpedient to concede the franchise. The placing it upon the foundation of a natural right, and as due to every citizen, that he should possess a vote, is assuming a position which is untenable. The ignorant crowds which crouch under an eastern dynasty have no right at all; nor any claim, as a matter of expediency, till they are more prepared to assume a share in public managements. But men who are prepared will judge they have the right, and,

moreover, that it will be for general happiness on the whole case, that they shall be admitted to the privilege of the franchise. And they are naturally fitted now, in some degree, to make good their claim; and if it be refused, there will just reappear, at intervals, rebellion after rebellion, and a ceaseless tumult and conflict of many years. The originators and everduring promoters of this state of intestine commotion will be those of the working classes who are in some degree educated, and trained to public business; and probably, as regards incitement and management of the claims, such men alone will have part in the warfare; for the masses of population are mere instruments. The number of men thus qualified is not, after all, great. It would not add much to the present sum of parliamentary voters, were all the fully educated working men in the United Kingdom added to the lists. Let them be so added in the way proposed, through the medium of a diploma accorded to them individually, after a strict examination of their attainments and qualifications. Then the ignorant multitudes shall have lost their leaders; the prepared part of the people shall constitutionally give its assistance in the task of general legislation;

education and science shall be promoted by the scheme; probably national temperance also. And, above all, the process of universal change will be slow and gradual, and without the danger that attends sudden political variations.

CHAPTER V.

ARTIFICIAL ASSOCIATION, (*continued.*)

ASSOCIATION TO MAINTAIN BALANCE OF POWER—ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST IT—FOREIGN COMMERCE—COMMERCIAL TREATIES—NATIONAL UNIONS—ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND—DISJUNCTIONS OF NATIONS—FEDERAL GOVERNMENT—ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN UNION—CORPORATIONS, BURGHS—ASSOCIATION OF CASTE.

Balance of Power.—After mankind have been distributed and associated into separate states and nations, it appears that a still farther and compound combination of these may be accomplished; and perhaps the most general instance of this species of association that can be found any where is that afforded in the confederacy among European realms for maintaining a balance of power. Some examples of this conjunction may be found among the Italian cities and states in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when they combined against the influence of the great nobles; and afterwards, more particularly against the encroachments of Charles the Eighth, of France.

This formidable monarch, who was an overmatch for a few of the minor states, and absolutely overran and subdued the better part of Italy in his expedition against Naples; was found unable to make head against the combined energy of all those small and independent communities, that joined successfully in federal alliance against his aggression.

This, it is believed, is the first example in modern Europe of a systematic confederacy of a number of small states in opposition to the invasion of a larger empire. Since that period the preservation of the balance of power by combinations of states, against an actual or suspected attempt at conquest or aggrandizement by another or others, has been a prominent feature in the policy of European governors; and, as its principles are of very difficult and delicate application, it has not unfrequently been used as an excuse for breaking the bonds of general peace in Europe; either at the instigation of the ambition of some individual sovereign, or of the few in some state, in order to preserve their interested superiority over the many.

Those who oppose the propriety of attending to, and endeavouring to adjust the balance of

power, allege that it contains in it a princ
of unnatural and unmerciful partition and e
lization; that it would wrench asunder w
districts, at present united in laws, langu
and national combination, in order that all
states of Europe should be equal in power
dimension; while the abettors of the doct
deny that they desire partition or equaliza
but merely the maintenance of each commu
whether great or small, in its present cond
of influence and independency. They depre
also the accusation thrown out against t
that their tenets would lead to a settled sta
things, an inexorable equality of nations,
susceptible of individual, or disproportio
improvement; whereas they allege their sy
to be accordant with the advancement and
eminence which every nation will attain i
own career, in virtue of the superiority o
own institutions or pursuits.

Foreign Commerce — Commercial Treati
Commerce between independent nations,
internal traffic among the inhabitants of
country, form a bond of connexion, the elem
of which are so obvious that we may pro
without stopping for disquisition on their na

The narrow views entertained by European politicians on the subject of community of trade, and the evils felt from the multiplied obstacles that resulted from this policy, led to occasional and partial remedies, among which were those partnerships that were formed among nations for mutual profit, denominated commercial treaties. Now that political economists have at last discovered that the prosperity of one nation is no way enhanced by the commercial depression of its neighbour, but rather that the economical welfare of one people, combined with free intercourse and interchange, proves a source of prosperity to all; treaties of commerce may be multiplied and made yet more favourable to free trade; or, perhaps, the result of full and final removal of all international obstacles may be the want of any necessity for commercial treaties at all, as these merely open up trade to favoured nations, and hold firm the exclusion, or at least the impediment, in the face of all the rest.

The notions of former times were of a contracted, and, therefore, of an unsound and injurious nature. It was not considered that one effective method of acquiring an opening for the sale of our manufactures in any given

nation, is to receive and import the wares of that nation. Reciprocation is certain either in that quarter or some other. Our government during most part of the last, and part of the present century, conceived it proper to maintain firm alliance with Portugal; and, therefore, by a treaty, denominated the Methuen, encouraged the consumption of the strong, coarse, worthless, Portuguese wines, by debarring or impeding the import of the more excellent vintages of Europe; and by a natural process thus forced a depraved taste for a heady and dangerous beverage on the inhabitants.

A competent writer observes, that "among the people of this country a notorious partiality exists in favour of a liquor (port wine) of which the harshness, bitterness, acidity, and other repulsive qualities, are only disguised by a large admixture of ardent spirits."* It is not improbable that this ill-advised policy of the British government has at least assisted in forming the taste and habit for strong drink, to which the natives of our island are so unhappily addicted.

National Unions.—There are examples of

* Dr. Henderson's History of Wines, pp. 60, 61.

separate nations associating and forming themselves into integral communities. This description of civil confederacy being of a voluntary kind, the forcible political conjunctions of nations which are effected by conquest do not here fall under consideration.

Instances of the species of association in question may be found existing in some of the earlier stages of the ancient Roman republic; and more lately in the cases of the unions of England and Scotland, and Great Britain and Ireland. The circumstances of similar origin, language, and institutions; of contiguity, and of possessing the same executive head, facilitated these later unions.

Where such an amalgamation takes place betwixt a larger commonwealth and a smaller, there is danger to be apprehended that, in matters where the interest of both is opposite, the weaker state must give way and suffer in consequence; but on the other hand there is a set-off against this, in the advantages which a small community obtains by being taken under the close protection of a more powerful; and in a communication of important rights and privileges.

These are of great consequence to the well-

being of human life. Where a stranger settles in a foreign country, till he becomes a denizen, he wants some essential qualifications towards the supporting himself and family, or maintaining a comfortable station and existence. He cannot become proprietor of land, or even of a dwelling; he has important facilities for the transaction of business and professional exertion of every kind subtracted from his condition; he cannot easily procure legal redress when aggrieved; nor can he, in the general, obtain for himself or any of his family, station in the army, navy, church, law, or diplomatic departments, or in any municipal office of his adopted country; or become a participator in its honours and dignities.

The precise obstacles and limits by which aliens are fettered depend upon the municipal regulations of each particular country. In the United States of America it is understood that facilities are afforded to denizenship with great liberality, but in Europe this has not yet been the case in any community. In ancient Greece and Rome there were several degrees of political privilege conferred on alien cities; such as *connubium*, or right of intermarriage; *communium*, or right to buy land; *commercium*, or

general right to buy or sell; *isopolity*, which among others included the right to make legal contracts, to sue, to possess exemption from certain tolls, to take part in certain festivals and solemnities; *proxeny*, or right to enjoy public hospitality. There are instances of a similar state of things in the conditions of outburgher, and paleburgher among the Swiss cantons.

The principal disadvantages that have resulted to the Scotch side, by the union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland, may be thus stated. In the first place, the want of a central point of legislative and court influence within the country, to form the tone of good society in a manner more racy, and adapted to the peculiar genius of the Scots, than is found in viewing London at a distance, as the source of taste, literature, and honour. The serious evil of having the national language condemned to a state of perpetual degradation and inelegance; and having a comparatively foreign dialect forced upon the upper ranks of the country. The inconvenience that uniformly attaches to the management of large concerns; whereby the wheels of government move very slowly; the execution of the laws, and the judicial and legislative functions, have not the dispatch that would result from a

smaller range, and more compact state of interests.

Without assuming for the Scots more than is their due, it may be asserted, that the character of their middle and lower classes, as to intelligence, is superior to that of the English; and if the result of the union had been to draw an influx of English into Scotland, it seems almost probable that a certain degree of deterioration to the national character would have ensued. But instead of this consequence, the attraction has lain the other way; the Scots have been allured into the richer country; and have for some generations furnished England in considerable numbers with gardeners, land-stewards, foremen of large works, non-commissioned officers in the army, petty officers in the navy, conducters of newspapers and periodicals, surgeons, and others.

On another side, the union of Great Britain and Ireland has proved to Scotland hitherto a measure of an unfavourable character. The very notion of national community precludes the Scots from refusing their Irish brethren a refuge on their shores at pleasure. The result has been the receiving into the bosom of North Britain, a huge mass of destitution and igno-

rance, and rank seeds of corruption. And, as evil tends to taint good, rather than good to overcome evil, Scotland, by already adopting many of the destroying customs of the Irish, has begun to add to her prisons, and efface her sabbaths of holiness and peace. Her only refuge in this perplexing case is by the most vehement efforts to supply this new population with instruction and piety; although the hopeless superstition in which they have been nurtured, and the re-iterated succession of invading hordes of these wild and reckless brethren, constitute none of the least irksome features in the aspect of the national connexion with this misconducted, but still most interesting and attractive country.

Statesmen of former ages, however, thought little of views like these; such formed probably no part of the consideration, and balancing of difficulties and contingencies, that generally precede the adoption of a great organic state change. Some slight regard is now had in a few cases to the ethics of public measures, particularly if a plausible reason can thereby be added to the other grounds of any proposed expedient.

Objections, however, in the above matters, and points of disadvantage, such as have been stated, are considered by most people as fully counter-

balanced by the additional consideration Scotland enjoys, as an integral part of Great Britain, and the opportunity this incorporation gives of concentrating all the energies of the British Empire. But from what has been said, it does not appear that sound argument is altogether on the side of conglomerating large masses of population together; and there seems some shadow of reason for remarking, that good policy may, in particular cases, rather point to the dismemberment of unwieldy communities, when it can be done safely, than their continuance in a state of mutual distrust, contrariety of interest, or disproportionate advancement. The disjunction of Switzerland from Austria, of Holland from Spain, of the United States from Great Britain, have all been beneficial.

On this part of the subject, we may take notice of a remarkable instance of the existing political associations of a great part of the known world, being made use of by Providence in the dissemination of the greatest blessing that ever was conferred on mankind. It has been justly observed, that in all human likelihood, Christianity was at first propagated with more celerity and success than would have otherwise been the case, by reason of the circumstances

of conjunction into which many of the nations had been thrown by the Roman conquests, which had associated the greater part of the globe into one mighty empire. This fact may be allowed: yet the same circumstances permitted the desolating persecutions of the Roman emperors to effect wider and more effectual ravage. It seems possible that amiable intercourse and interchange existing among many small states, accompanied with peaceful association and general intelligence, is a state of things equally susceptible of being employed as a favourable situation for promulgation of the Truth, as the forced and artificial conjunction that has been effected by the sword.

Federal Government.—Some governments have a greater principle of unity or simplicity than others. A pure despotism, or democracy, would be quite simple in its nature. The relation between the supreme power and each of its subjects would be immediate. In some nations the authority of the general government reaches the individual subject through the medium of some minor municipality or state. This is the case among the Swiss Cantons, and was formerly so in the Germanic Confederation and Dutch

Provinces. It is exemplified also in the United States of America. In these instances a number of smaller communities are confederated, and knit together into one national corporation; reserving a considerable framework of government, and important rights to each subordinate community, which cannot lawfully be trenched upon, or destroyed by the general diet or congress.

It is evident that the principle of association in this state of things is more interrupted than in the case of a more coherent and compact municipal system. But an investigation into the various modifications of the federal governments that have existed in the world, though, perhaps, not out of place in this essay, would protract it into an inconvenient length. A slight glance at the interim government of North America, immediately on its obtaining independence, may help to elucidate the subject.

The peace with the mother country took place in 1782. At that period the elements of combination consisted merely of a federal union of the thirteen States, with mutual pledges in case of external attack and war; but to each was reserved its internal government and legislature. The general congress had at that period

no direct power over the individual inhabitants of any of the States, to compel them to contribute either money or personal service for the general good, much less to obey the laws of the land. During the violence of the revolutionary conflict, the energy of public feeling and opinion was able, with this weak framework of government, to raise loans and levy armies; as ardour for defence of the frontiers, at the beginning of the great French revolution, and religious zeal in Cromwell's times, proved potent elements of combination for a time.

But now that the extraordinary stimulation of joint activity and danger was over, the Congress found insurmountable difficulty in raising money to liquidate their debts, to settle the long arrears of the army, or even to pay the ordinary interest of the national loans. There was no power of coercion on the individual inhabitants, but only an indefinite kind of bond over the separate states. The Congress possessed no force to enact general commercial regulations, nor even to prevent separate states from mutual warfare, had they been so inclined. Unarranged difficulties existed as to the right of voting among the states on general affairs, from the circumstance of a want of parity in

their respective populations. The impediments in the way of liquidating the interest of the debt depreciated the paper money which had been issued. British goods and manufactures were prohibited by some states, but freely received by others, and smuggled from the latter into the former, which procedure occasioned great jealousies and complaints. From want of funds to repel them, the Mediterranean trade was almost destroyed by pirates and corsairs.

In short, from all those causes, and the inadequacy of the then government to apply a remedy to such complicated evils, America is represented to have been in a state verging to disorder and anarchy; and this made it necessary to organize a new government with a more efficient scheme of association. The present system was, therefore, established; the Congress has power to levy taxes throughout the Union, to borrow on credit of the United States, to regulate foreign commerce, to establish uniform laws of bankruptcy and naturalization, to coin money and punish forgery, to establish post offices and roads, to constitute certain tribunals of a character inferior to those of the states, to declare war and peace, to levy and support troops and a navy, with various other prerogatives.

It has been frequently asserted by English politicians, that the existence of a series of governments in the United States, subordinate to the Congress, but still exercising within their own territory what may be called supreme power, is an unfavourable circumstance; and precludes America from the advantages of a uniform and compact system of political management. It is not impossible that there may be truth in this. Nevertheless, there would seem to be some advantages on the other side. Where there is a division of labour, the work is better performed. An empire may be so vast, and its relations and institutions so multiplied and complicated, that the legislative assembly may be in danger of overlooking important affairs connected with a particular province; and the consequence of finding nearly insurmountable difficulty in obtaining a remedy from the paramount power, may discourage such a province from making applications in cases of grievance, or where a change of the posture of their internal affairs might be greatly beneficial, and necessary in the general progress of the community.

Another benefit incident to this condition of delegated legislative function may be stated;

that there are many innovations and municipal meliorations which may be suggested, but the responsibility of which, if executed on a large scale, is sufficiently arduous to deter sensible men from the enterprize. Whereas, could an experiment be made within a more manageable scope, it might be entered upon with subsequent benefit. It is not improbable that the partial abrogation of slavery which has had place in the United States has been facilitated by the possibility of the measure being executed and confined to a particular district, which had been peculiarly and favourably situated for its introduction; whereas, the proposition, as a universal measure throughout the whole Union, could not, perhaps, have been received.

We may mention, as another auspicious experiment in legislation, that of preventing the *retail* of alcoholic liquors, which has now successfully been adopted by several states in the American Union. This subject we shall afterwards have occasion to touch upon. And these, and other beneficial legislative efforts might not have been practicable, had the demand for the enactments required that they should immediately be effectuated on a large scale.

How far the partition of Great Britain into

provinces, and the bestowment on each district of supreme legislative function, in certain ranges of cases, would be benefical or otherwise, might be a curious speculation for theoretical politicians.

In concluding the cursory account we have given of federal government, we may mention that colonial rule and dominion, and the relations of colonies with the mother country, are, as regards association, generally of this character.

Corporations, Burghs.—We come to municipal association, first known in Europe about 800 years ago. This was substantially the confederacy of the feeble many, against the powerful few; of the poor working classes in those times, against the rich aristocracy; but aided and abetted by the favour of the crown, which had a bosom interest in the rearing up of a counter authority to that of the nobles, a new influence, which was to help to break the staff of baronial dominion, and advance that of the national executive.

Previous to the eleventh century the industrious classes were virtually slaves: and not so with the peasantry only, but also with the inhabitants of towns and villages. All property

was held of some overlord; masses of the people put themselves under his protection, and of course, under his jurisdiction and authority. No man, without consent of the feudal superior, could dispose of his possession by will or alienation; nor could he without such consent marry, or appoint guardians for his children. He was bound by the jurisdiction of the baron, and could not withdraw his lawsuit from the court of his lord, lest the fees due to his overlord should be prejudiced. The most oppressive services were annually exacted, and general commerce and agriculture impeded by selfish and unwise regulations.

In the beginning of the eleventh century a new light broke in upon some of the cities of Italy, who endeavoured to put themselves into a more independent position by uniting their members and inhabitants together—assuming certain municipal powers, forming themselves into a more compact body politic than before, and claiming the right of being governed by their own laws. Some of these towns boldly appropriated those privileges on their own motion and authority: others purchased charters from the emperor, the paramount superior of them, and their overlords; and some obtained

immunities from the generosity of other sovereigns.

After having established their corporations, and secured the working of their political machinery, they proceeded by degrees to make themselves masters of the territories in the vicinity of the walls of their city. In due time, and as their civil and military strength increased, they made aggressions on the feudal lord of their neighbourhood; and, successful in this warfare, proceeded to attack those barons who were more remote. Finally, they in general contrived to force the lords of all the surrounding country to unite with them in schemes and projects for the common advantage. They obliged them to become citizens; to subject themselves to the common laws; to pay taxes; and to reside part of the year within the walls. Ecclesiastics of rank were also subjected to the discipline of these votaries of association; and in less than two centuries free corporations pervaded Germany, France, and the other feudal kingdoms of Europe.

The privileges thus obtained to these communities, chiefly through the means of that powerful principle which we are investigating, were in many cases as follows, viz:—

1. Authority to bind the inhabitants to a partnership of personal protection, and for the common defence against external aggression and hostility.

2. The right of carrying arms for this purpose, and of making war.

3. The power of executing by lawful force the sentences of their magistrates and municipal authorities.

4. Authority to punish murder and other crimes, and to refuse compensations for such transgressions of law; to abolish wagers of battle, or other methods of evading justice.

And finally, the preventive method of permitting each citizen, if likely to be aggrieved, to swear the peace against his adversary, and deter from commission of crime.

The good effects of this new system of political management became soon apparent, in a way that we in present times can scarcely appreciate. The great body of the people were released from general servitude, and from the grinding of grievous impositions, and exalted into a measure of that fresh and elastic condition which happy political liberty always ensures. The exorbitant power of rude and selfish nobles was reduced; their ability to maintain a

perpetual irritation of feud and embroilment throughout the land, limited or withdrawn; their amenableness to the laws of the kingdom secured; and the just rights of the executive for this purpose maintained. Agriculture and commerce improved; population augmented; and the polish of civilized life, and even some degree of erudition, began to brighten the hitherto opaque surface of society.

Thus from the elements of association well managed, there arose another great political party in every state, a power intermediate between the king and the nobility — a power destined perhaps to further advancement still in the course of circumstances. The spirit of laws flowed from new principles, and was directed to new objects; and the phrases, equality, order, redress of grievances, public good, began to form part of the political vocabulary, and to occupy a portion of public consideration.*

Caste.—In certain stages of society there has appeared to be a tendency in mankind to throw themselves into an artificial state of parcelling, denominated Caste, which has been defined to be

*Robertson's Charles V. vol. i.

a classification of the members of a community into separate hereditary orders, for performance of certain functions and business; and with a view to successive permanence of the system, marriage was not permitted out of the particular class, so that no admixture of caste was authorized.

The professions or occupations which have from time to time been the subject of caste, are as follows, viz:—priests, handicraftsmen, shepherds and hunters, ploughmen, soldiers, slaves or servants, and seamen. The division of labour was thus accomplished, but not in the beneficial method of our times. It seems to be natural in ages when the demand for labour is scanty, for a man to breed up his sons to his own trade or profession; and the labourers in those occupations which were held noble or sacred, more or less, might thus secure to their families a hereditary rank and consideration. Be that as it may, it is understood that this factitious adjustment of society has obtained among the ancient Assyrians, Egyptians, Cretians, Persians, Peruvians, and Mexicans; and in the present time it exists among the Hindoos.

The evils of this system have been so often exposed, as preventing the introduction of all

improvement, and as giving a retrograde movement to society, that we shall not occupy time in its discussion.

With regard to the elements of coherence by means of which these several foul and nauseous bundles of human life are packed and kept together, they seem chiefly to consist of terror and pride. The ecclesiastical and civil laws of the country enforce the sorting of the sets under very awful sanctions; and the higher castes, to make sure their own superiority, trample on the lower with merciless cruelty. Although the absolute letter of the law is not, and perhaps cannot be, carried into strait execution, yet the spirit of it seems sufficiently apparent in Hindoo society.

Their Veda, or sacred book, ascribes to the Brahmin class the privilege of presenting clarified butter to the gods; declares that the Brahmin is born above the world, the chief of all creatures. "Let the king," says this record, "having arisen at early dawn, respectfully attend to the Brahmins. Let him impart to them his most momentous counsel. Let him not provoke a Brahmin to anger, for he is a powerful divinity, transcendently divine. If a Sudra (one of an inferior class) offer to give instruction to priests,

hot oil must be poured into his ears." No man of inferior caste must speak at the same time with a superior, without punishment from the magistrate. On the Sudra the most grovelling labour is imposed as a religious duty. A Sudra was created to serve. A Sudra slave cannot possess goods. "A Brahmin who would instruct a Sudra in the mode of expiating sin sinks with that very man into hell. If a Sudra gets by heart the beids of the Shaster, the magistrate shall put him to death."

There is thus a despotism bestowed on the higher castes of a pernicious description; and the Brahmins, by ingratiating with the chief, and preaching the divine right of royalty in the ears of all the community, obtain the aid of the civil power in upholding the supremacy of the caste; and thus these two powers of darkness reciprocate, and play into each other's hands in the management of this their sport with human happiness. When one loses caste he is prohibited from entering his own or his parents' house; his friends dare not approach him; the common offices of humanity are refused; he is scorned and plundered; an outcast in this world, and consigned by law to eternal punishment in the next. An European gentleman

in a frolic once forced spirits into the mouth of a Brahmin. The deed was done in mere wanton ignorance of the terrible results that followed. The Hindoo lost caste, and was not readmitted for some years, passed in wretchedness and misery, nor till a considerable sum had been paid.

CHAPTER VI.

ARTIFICIAL ASSOCIATION, (*continued.*)

CONVENTIONS—MILITARY ASSOCIATION—FEUDAL AND STANDING ARMIES—STRAIT OBEDIENCE NECESSARY—PUNISHMENT—MARTIAL GLORY—OLYMPIC GAMES—RELIGIOUS AND RECREATIVE ELEMENTS—PEACEFUL NATURE.

Convention.—One who has the legal power of summoning or convoking a legitimate assembly is in the northern parts of Great Britain called convener; and this power pertains in county meetings to a certain officer, and in juries to the sheriff. The sovereign is the lawful convener of the British parliament; and a power of this kind, as to all assemblies, ought to be lodged some where that the members may obtain equal notification, and that there be no sudden or packed meeting. The word convention is, however, used to denote, sometimes, an assembly which has met spontaneously, on some extreme emergency, without the formal authority to convene which is in the ordinary cases held requisite. Thus the assembly that restored King Charles II. met without the authority of a

royal writ; and the convention of estates in 1688, which devolved the kingdom on William and Mary, was afterwards only converted into a regular parliament. An agreement by the general of an army to surrender upon conditions is sometimes denominated a convention.

Military Association.—There are various lesser conjunctions that take place as a consequence of the general association under civil government; one of these is the union of individual soldiers into an army.

In feudal times the great lords and the gentry furnished a temporary supply of soldiers from among their vassals for the purposes of the state; but the transient nature of this kind of equipment answered ill the military necessities of Europe after the dark ages had passed; accordingly standing armies were introduced, having a more permanent and efficient principle of association.

As the feudal armies consisted of peasantry and handicraftsmen, they were incapable of continuing military service throughout the year. The labours of the fruitful field, and of the workshop, formed part, and the larger part, of their duty. In some cases, forty days of military

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service was all that could be required by the overlord from his vassal. When the set time expired, the rustic legions broke up and returned home; and of course the utmost uncertainty and incoherence obtained in this irregular method of warfare. But when standing armies were instituted, the profession of a soldier became a permanent business, which excluded other avocations. Regular fixed pay was now awarded; prize-money was put into expectation, and its distribution adjusted on stated principles; promotion was arranged, and held out as an encouragement; and in some states the freedom of trade in burghs and cities was reserved for disbanded soldiers and their families.

There are several elements of combination that accomplish the extraordinary and constrained union that characterises military life. A slight observation makes it obvious that the principle of obedience ought to be in this case much more strict and immediate than in any other service. The secrecy necessary in military affairs, the singleness of direction and control, cause the commander-in-chief or general to be the central, and perhaps the sole repository of directing movement. The army, therefore, ought to be a machine which he can

impel into general action by the mere word of command. Each soldier knows that if the designs and intentions and the plans of operation were revealed to every private man, they might quickly be made known to the enemy, which would lead perhaps, in many emergencies, to inevitable destruction. They are therefore contented to obey, and not to prescribe; and thus instant obedience becomes their most valuable element of duty.

From the extreme and universal peril that may ensue by want of prompt submission to orders arises the necessity of sharp and severe chastisement to offenders, and this operates as another element in maintaining the artificial conjunction of military life. And finally, as desertion is the direct rupture of the military bond, this method of dissociation is met in all cases with the most terrible punishments of the martial code.

As the rest of the community justly attribute their own continuance in a state of protection from external invasion and internal commotion to the military establishment, and as these great blessings are achieved at imminent risk of wounds, privations, fatigue, and death; there is a remarkable favour to, and approval of, the

military profession among the other members of the community. The becoming dress, the adroit carriage and appearance of soldiers, add to this sentiment; and the martial pomp and imposing procession of regiments and brigades under particular colours, contribute to the charm. The grateful feelings derived from national protection are enhanced by a tenderness of apprehension that a few weeks may cut off the youngest and bravest. And these sentiments, mixed with the high and graceful pride of military music and movement, fascinate the mind, and elevate its emotions to a pitch of admiration and enthusiasm.

And there is a reciprocation on the part of the soldier, whose natural reward therefore is glory, and to wear the badge of distinction; whether it be a simple silver medal, or a coronet of strawberry leaves; whether it be to receive thanks at the head of a sergeant's party, or to sleep under a lettered tombstone in Westminster Abbey. And the desire of the dignity of which these are the notes and marks, is an element that keeps the warrior combined to that partnership of toil and danger which is so great a source of honour. The continuous and stimulating hope of promotion and preferment

adds its uniting influence; and the greater mortality incident to the members of this fraternity enlarges and enflames the elements of association.

Olympic Games. — Besides the ordinary confederacies that join independent states together, a singular federal bond is remarkable in the Olympic games, which for many ages cemented the Grecian commonwealths by a joint tie of recreation and religious ritual. The original institution of those celebrated resorts is lost in remote antiquity; but after a temporary cessation they were revived during a general war, when armistices were agreed on, in order to permit the inhabitants of the belligerent states to attend with safety. The gymnasium was a spacious edifice, with an extensive middle area, and adjoining were apartments and baths for the combatants. The neighbouring country was gradually adorned with porticoes, walks, and groves, interspersed with benches: the whole were originally intended to relieve the fatigues of the candidates in the games, but were in later times used by philosophers and teachers, to meditate, or to communicate knowledge in these delightful retreats.

But even before this literary occupation of Olympia, it was the custom for the historians and poets of ancient Greece to recite their works in presence of the assembled multitudes; and there Herodotus, Euripides, and other authors, first obtained the reward of national fame which instigated them to further and more vehement efforts for that reputation which has not ceased at the present day.

These solemn festivals drew together not only the inhabitants of the states of Greece, but of the neighbouring islands and countries. During the representations, suspensions of existing hostilities took place, and for some time before and after it. Intercourse was facilitated, prejudices were softened, knowledge was advanced, and the progress of civilization hastened. The Olympiad served as a common bond and reunion among the numerous colonies of Greece; and the celebrity of the festival continually attracted strangers of talent and enterprise from all quarters. I am not aware of any exactly similar confederate institution having existed in any country; although the May meetings in London, and April meetings in Paris, of benevolent and religious societies have, in one particular, some features of similarity. And the

yearly assemblages in various parts for the purposes of yacht sailing, and horse racing, bear another trait of resemblance; while a third might be quoted in the convocations of the British Association for scientific purposes, held successively in different large towns in the empire. But the Olympic games seemed to combine into one mass, religious and political purposes, with provision for literary improvement and gymnastic recreation.

On the whole, it seems clear that assemblies for such purposes have an associating result: and so far as they could be formed of different nations, would doubtless have the effect, to some degree, of counteracting the tendency to hostile disjunction, which is part of the nature of separate bodies politic, whose interests may come into inimical collision.

CHAPTER VII.

ARTIFICIAL ASSOCIATION, (*continued.*)

NON-IMPORTATION AGREEMENTS—AMERICAN DECISION IN THIS CASE — BUSINESS PARTNERSHIPS — EFFECTS OF SUCCESS IN THESE, AND ITS REVERSE—LEAGUE AND COVENANT IN SCOTLAND, AND THEN ENGLAND—CAUCUS, OR ELECTION COMMITTEES—WHERE ORIGINATED—POLITICAL UNIONS — RIGHT OF PETITION—TRADES' UNIONS—MOBS.

Non-importation Agreements.—We have mentioned several minor conjunctions that take place as a consequence of general association under civil government, and now proceed to consider that description of association that may be formed for the purpose of altering certain parts of a municipal system already existing, or even overthrowing a present dynasty or government, and setting up a new one in its stead. In the commencement of the struggle that ultimately secured the independence of the North American colonies, the taxation imposed by the mother country was the subject of open complaint, and of deep and deliberate decision by the colonists. Finding their remonstrances produced no effect, they entered into a plan of

systematic opposition to the measures of the British government, and united firmly and successfully in an agreement not to import any of the manufactures of Great Britain; which step called forth at home the resentment of the manufacturing interest against the British ministry. These non-importation agreements were every where entered into; and it was resolved to prevent the sale of any English commodities. The women cheerfully renounced the wear of British made ornaments. Tea was prevented from being landed, and the cargoes of several vessels, having that article on board, were cast into the sea.

This species of association involves several principles; among others, that of self-denial in the use of luxuries, in order to obtain a higher gratification and more desirable object than these can confer. A similar disuse of West Indian sugar was commenced in this country by some of the advocates against the African slave trade some time ago, when this question was at the heat of agitation. But the interest was not so general or energetic throughout the country on this subject, as to create any universal rejection of the article.

In America, in the case quoted, the interest

was universal, and sufficiently powerful to effect the object in view; and as the general self-denial of luxuries on a great scale is one of the most difficult enterprises that mankind can be occupied in, we may judge, from the complete success the non-importation scheme obtained in America, of the amount of energy and resolution contained in the public mind in that country on the topics which at that time engrossed them. As some of the features of this species of association have a similarity to those observable in the modern temperance society system, we shall reserve further remarks till we come to treat of the latter institutions.

Business Partnerships.—The principal bond of connexion here is that of self-interest: but after men have been thus long united together, the elements of habit and private friendship may also intervene. In some cases one partner advances the capital necessary for carrying on the business, while the other bestows his time and labour. In this a happy combination is secured, of great importance to national and individual prosperity. The bankruptcy of the concern *ipso facto* dissolves the conjunction.

A powerful tendency seems emerging in this

›untry for very extensive connexions of this ind; such as, joint-stock companies for canals, ıilways, insurance, banking, shipowning, and ther undertakings. It is said that servant girls re small part owners of some of the steam-oats on the Clyde. Where capital is rife in ny country, and interest low, the capitalist is empted to invest in enterprises that promise ı fair return; and with the details of the nanagement of which he shall not be implicated ›r troubled. At particular periods, unprin-:ipled men have been in use to get up a ›lausible scheme of this kind, to have the ex-›ectations of the undertaking well puffed in he public prints, and when the stock rose in :onsequence, to sell out at a premium, and allow he concern to sink or swim at the responsibility ›f the new partners.

In forming business connexions, although nere self-interest be a moving cause of conjunc-ion, yet it may be proper to remember, that as his connexion may lead to others of still greater mportance, viz., to those of private friendship, ınd even to marriage, among the families of the ›artners, it is of more consequence than at first ight may appear that men should, in this busi-ıess arrangement, see to it that they do not

rashly connect themselves among individuals with whom it might not be safe or expedient to have close intercourse. If due care on this point were universal, it would further act as a premium throughout the nation on honesty, diligence, and morality; and serve to discountenance impudent bustle and pretence, which might prove after all to be unfettered by principle.

In passing we may notice a curious instance of the associating power of joint advantage in the case of partnership, and the dissociating influence of the reverse. It is remarkable, that an agreeable flow of success unites partners in friendship and in management; while a run of bad luck will frequently, though not always, have the effect of creating jealousies and recriminations among the joint proprietors, and subject every item of the management to sharp scrutiny and criticism.

League and Covenant.—At the period of the reformation from popery in Scotland, about the year 1557, a formal bond of agreement, called the first covenant, was entered into, and all the eminent persons who favoured the reform, were invited to subscribe it. The Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Montrose, Lord Lorne, and

Mr. Erskine, of Dun, led the way, and gave it the sanction of their names. The subscribers to this deed, which was the pattern to others of the same kind in after parts of the Scotch history, renouncing the superstitions of Rome, promised to apply their power and wealth, and to risk their lives, in establishing a just and scriptural mode of worship. No less than four similar bonds were signed extensively by the protestant inhabitants within a few years; and this method of association, no doubt, proved very efficacious in promoting the downfal of popery, and the settlement of the kingdom in the protestant faith.

When, in 1637, King Charles I. attempted forcibly to introduce episcopacy into Scotland, another covenant was entered into by the Scots, by which they bound themselves to resist all religious innovations, and to defend each other against all opposition. This national document was subscribed by persons of all ranks and conditions. A similar league was afterwards adopted, under the title of the Solemn League and Covenant, and introduced from Scotland into England; and all these various bonds must have tended to confirm and strengthen the political interests of those concerned, and assist

in the operations of those troublous and milit
times. The confederates for protestantism
the first period above referred to, stemmed n
formidable opposition in the executive gove
ment, and in the Romish church, at that t
by law established in the land. And in
second period, the advocates for a more libe
form of protestant church government enco
tered similar difficulties. It is scarce possi
for us in the present day to realize or appreci
their situation; but as a drowning man gra
at and holds fast a pendent branch, so did
ancestors seize upon the principle of asso
tion, as if by instinct, in their desponding
almost hopeless condition; and the princi
proved its inherent strength by the signal
glorious effects it produced. It is not unus
for certain writers, whose political views w
opposed in these movements, to ridicule
League and Covenant; but as an instrumen
association and power, it proved itself the re
not of ignoble and grovelling, but of ma
minds.

Caucus.—Other minor combinations have
existed, having for their object the controll
the government of the country; and specim

of these cabals among the chief nobility, and of court intrigues, may be found in the history of England, but more especially in that of France. We proceed to consider what is stated to be a very powerful instrument in the internal management of American political concerns, called by the cant name of "Caucus." That small, but powerful species of agitating association denominated caucus, seems to have had its origin and first manifestation in some such manner as the following:—an office-bearer in one of the states being about to be elected by a wide and extensive suffrage, and a meeting of the more influential electors called previous to the election, a particular individual was agreed to be proposed to the general body of voters, and a committee was appointed to take all suitable means to procure the choice to fall on the favoured candidate. It was soon observed that in the great majority of cases, the candidate who enjoyed the benefit of the exertions of such a committee was sure to gain the election. Accordingly, the advantage of an active working committee in such matters became so apparent, that its appointment ceased to be matter of open and avowed procedure; but those chiefly interested in any public question met privately,

and appointed such a committee as has b
described, which afterwards received the n
name of caucus. As the suffrage of the Un
States is by far the most extensive in the wo
the influence of the caucus, if it really be w
some have represented, is, perhaps, one of
most striking instances that can be pointed
of the surprising success that attends asso
tion; and demonstrates what a potent ins
ment this principle may become. It is said
every official appointment in America, from
President downwards, is managed by mean
the caucus. A few of the more influe
meet privately together, arrange who shall
proposed, and finally, by taking joint meas
following out systematic procedure, and ur
onward with the utmost prudence and ene
succeed ultimately in bringing thousand
voters to be subservient to their design.
be asked how so very *few* are found compe
to influence *the many* to such a prodigious
tent, and if some principle or cause of su
result is demanded, we shall probably, an
others, have to refer to the element of *vis ine*
before alluded to. For it is evident that, an
a vast multitude of electors, the choice of a
ticular individual must be a matter scarce

stirring or individual interest. At all events, not of such concern as should stimulate them to engage in any troublesome, toilsome series of labour for the purpose of ensuring his success.

They remain, therefore, in a state of quiescence and repose. They become, in some measure, the prey of those who will run about, canvass, spend days and nights in this arduous game, and compass sea and land for the attainment of their purpose. In cases, therefore, where mere *vis inertiæ* is to be overcome, the caucus shall be irresistible. It must be presupposed that the candidate or measure supported by the caucus is, at the least, not unpopular. The most active committee of this kind could scarcely, within any short time, overcome the unpopularity of their cause; the *vis inertiæ* even of the case would be against them.

Where a useful measure or change of any kind is to be introduced against the popular voice, it requires long time and much discussion to produce universal conviction; but, by agitation of the question, and holding it in various aspects to the face of the public, and persevering and making head against all difficulties, a small and active caucus may do wonders, and effect reformation to which they might appear by no

means competent on a first and cursory vi
And this consideration ought to be a mig
encouragement to all who have truth on t
side, although their number be but few. I
ticularly in the present age, where an ex
sively circulating press and free current of pu
opinion bestow a much fairer chance to
cause of truth, than the narrowness and d
ness of former ages.

It is obvious that such a moral engine as
caucus cannot exist in any but a very pop
form of government. In one of the elder
aristocratic monarchies of Europe it wo
perhaps, assume the form of a cabal of pri
or nobles. In the case of an old governm
constituted on the principles of Divine righ
kings, and passive obedience, the vessel of
state seems yet to be on the stocks; she is
ported by firm stakes and preserved immova
the tempest invades her repose in vain;
under a more popular form, she is like a
that has attained its fair and natural elem
though the result is that a zephyr will get
under weigh, and she is somewhat liable t
tossed about a little by various winds of
trine.

The above observations occurred on the

sideration of some parts of the history and condition of the United States, as it stood some time ago. But, although this species of association first assumed form and consistency in the western world, my readers will not fail in it to recognise the familiar features of the committee of a British parliamentary candidate, with other similar agencies now among us, in as great plenty as blackberries.

In the case of a disputed election, the operation of a candidate's committee is in general curbed and confined by the action of the counter committee of the opposing candidate. So that we have little opportunity of witnessing and gauging the precise amount of moral power an *ex parte* committee would possess, and put in force, upon any question of moment. And, as regards the principle of association, the simple question seems to be in a case of this kind:—what are the separate merits of the two committees? which exerts most diligence, activity, and method?

Political Unions.—Although great political changes were accomplished in the time of Charles the First, by means of association, and also at the revolution of 1688; yet the system

of political unions seems to have been reserved for the present age. There are not wanting men of influence and property among these societies; nevertheless, their general feature appears to be the association of the industrious classes, in order to counterbalance the power which attaches in aristocratic circles to property; and their avowed object seems to be, to investigate the rights and liberties of the operative orders, to collect and organize their general opinion and wishes on these subjects, and to obtain, by legal means, such a constitutional amendment of various branches of the state, as shall ensure protection to the lower ranks, and bestow upon them a fair proportion of all the advantages which any government has the means of conferring.

Taking a very general view of this description of association, as it existed in this country about the year 1792, and in 1819, and in 1832, it may be remarked, that two points of difference among these seem observable. In the latter end of last century, when the popular reformers did not at once obtain the object of their desires, they had not patience merely to reiterate their demands on the existing authorities, and, by agitating the questions at issue, procure the

tedious, but effectual verdict of the public, in favour of safe and practicable reform. They adopted a rash, and, perhaps, dangerous line of conduct, and premature plans of physical force, before a general moral power in favour of change had been generated and created among all ranks. The Corresponding Society at London let it be known that, as peaceful measures had been unsuccessful, they must use more effectual plans. In Scotland they proceeded to take steps for summoning a national convention to supersede the parliament and other existing institutions; they fabricated arms and levied troops. Here was at once violated and attacked that general principle of obedience to lawful authority which is inherent in all men, and to which, and a certain political *vis inertiæ*, we have formerly alluded.

These conservative principles had been, moreover, temporarily strengthened and enlarged far beyond their usual dimensions, by the unfortunate failure of the cause of liberty in France, and by the terrific variation of scene which had then taken place on the political theatre. The words Reform, Liberty, Rights of the People, had all of them, in those mistrustful days, a hateful sound in Great Britain; in general they

raised emotions of unmingled fear and repulsion; they suggested broken laws, levelled institutions, the misrule of triumphant mobs, and the yells of multitudes stained with the blood that issued plentifully from the bottom of the guillotine. The same inattention to the propriety of not hastily infringing the conservative principles that we have alluded to, took place also in 1819, when the drilling of troops, and marching of blanketteers to London was the order of the day; with the assembling of imposing multitudes and simultaneous striking of work, throughout extensive districts. In 1832, previous to passing the Reform Bill, a different mode of procedure was observed; the unions never proposed to go beyond the organizing and peaceful expression of opinion; openness of procedure, obedience to the laws, and a marked steadiness and propriety of demeanour were make absolute rules of action. In this way the public were, at that period, brought up to the important question of national reform, as legal judges on any civil case; their persons were held sacred; they were not called upon to judge nice points of political theory, with the sword of anarchy waving over them. We see, therefore, how powerful an instrument

association is, even of those who do not possess weighty or extensive individual influence. And perceiving how much this engine can effect, it is not unnatural for many to have some suspicion of the propriety of its being permanently and continually kept up for political purposes. We observe that in all histories, the abettors of oppressive and bigotted governments have earnestly put down association of this description, with the most implacable energy.

No false principle of government will long stand the test of enlightened education, political association, and a free press. The divine right of kings to misgovern, the doctrine of passive resistance, taxation for the purpose of aggrandizing one class at the expense of another, a scheme of partial patronage, or unsuitable bestowal of public honours, must give way and disappear in due time, before an extensive and enlightened confederacy of those whose nearest interest it is to build up and maintain a totally opposite system.

But while this potent machine may thus be made the instrument of good, it may be fairly asked, is it not equally convenient for the production of evil? May not the propriety of the destruction of machinery be enforced, and the

deed done through the medium of association? May not the doctrines of universal and utter equality among all the individuals of the species be thus promulgated, and the necessity of periodical divisions of property voted, and this dogma become no longer a mere theory? As the many are comparatively without property, may not at least the influence of innumerable associations have the effect of throwing property out of protection? Now, it may be fairly conceded, that if the lower orders can be brought to act permanently on the anarchical and dissociating principles above alluded to, there is danger of general confusion, and breaking up of the social system; and the characters of political unions will, of course, altogether depend upon the objects they have in view, and the method in which they sincerely intend that these should be carried into execution. I presume it can be fairly demonstrated to every man of sound sense, that the multiplication of machines in husbandry and manufactories, is a wide national blessing, however hard it may occasionally press for a time on detached portions of the inhabitants; and that it is of the deepest individual concern to every man, woman and child throughout the empire, that property be

kept most jealously and scrupulously sacred to the possessor. I presume that all theories to the contrary, however plausible, may be overturned by fair argument, employed by an enlightened political economist, to enlightened and intelligent hearers. What, therefore, is the true safeguard against the influence of political associations among the working classes, supposing that it take a wrong turn, and propose for its aim those objects which are at bottom, and in the main, deleterious to the community? The communicating the benefits of intelligence and education to as wide a range, and to as high a pitch as possible, seems the effectual, and at the same time the pleasing and gratifying cure for this evil. And, in fact, this evil will assuredly exist, unless a full and ample remedy, in the shape of national education, come not also in the train of reform. Those, therefore, who do not at the present crisis strain every nerve to obtain for the lower classes of the empire the most unlimited and liberal education, are merely taking effectual measures for enabling the system of political association to work all the evils which they themselves profess to deprecate and deplore.

In regard to making physical force an element

for procuring desirable political reform, or disclaiming utterly, and permanently repudiating this principle, much has been spoken and written within these last two years in this country. The grand mass of radical reformers have, on this point, been fairly split into two parties, not only in *opinionising* upon the point, but acting according to their separate views. It might be an extremely curious question, how far the political reforms and changes in 1642 and 1688 could have been brought about by mere moral suasion and agitation. But, doubtless, we now live in different times, and at a period where moral suasion has shown itself capable of great results.

Right of Petitioning.—Before dismissing those modifications of association that spring from, or in connexion with, municipal government, we may advert to the "Right of Petitioning" on the part of the people. This is an invaluable privilege. The most callous heart is apt to be touched by the voice of entreaty; and one desperate method adopted by Eastern sovereigns of entailing their despotism unimpaired by the power of their subjects' tears, is to keep aloof from access, and to sequester themselves

from all petition. Buonaparte, though conjured by the Duc D'Enghien to permit a personal audience, steeled himself against gratifying the desire of the noble prisoner, lest justice, speaking through the lips of injured innocence, might sway him from the secret determination which had sealed the fate of his victim. The just and merciful privilege of petition is, of course, rendered the stronger proportionally as numbers are united in its exercise. The value of the privilege of petitioning, its power of combination of the wishes of multitudes in various quarters, and of launching the whole mass of desire and claim upon the legislature, has been found so complete, that this method of association now forms part of the general political agency and operation of the country. The petition to the Commons in favour of chartism, presented in 1839, had more than a million signatures attached, and required several men to carry it into the house.

The scheme of petitioning induces a plurality of individuals to record publicly their opinions on some point of importance; and as they cannot well retract such a solemn declaration, they are the more permanently combined by the act. But as has been observed, the requests of many

are thus made to stream towards one focus, and the influence of a series of petitions will in part depend on the skill and diligence with which the whole is made finally to converge; the address of the leaders of the people shall thus be shown and exhibited in the same way as the military capacity of Napoleon Buonaparte was displayed at the battle of Austerlitz, in bringing very remote and distant columns to march upon a single point, and arrive and inflict the massive and united shock of battle within the compass of a few minutes of time.

It has been said that it is very easy to get up on any subject an application however numerously signed, and that it is no proper test of the popularity of a measure. Where there is no settled wish on the part of the people, then the pressure of solicitation will, of course, be the less vehement, and more especially, the less continuous. When the national desire, however, is great, and deeply founded, the natural result will be, not only petition, but reiterated demand, and prolonged perseverance, in this species of agitation.

Trades' Unions.—This important subject may be treated of at great length, and a variety of

weighty particulars might be considered, such as—the object of these institutions, their nature and framework, the effects good and bad which spring from them, the remedies for evil results; and more especially these might be viewed in connexion with our proper investigation, the development of the principle of association evinced in their operations. We can only briefly advert to these heads.

Trades' unions have arisen among workmen because their interest as recipients of wages, or as regards their hours of labour, is antagonist to that of employers. There is no necessary connexion with this state of things and a condition of hostility between the parties. There is a similar adverse position of mistrust in the case of the buyer and seller. In both cases, probably, the debateable matter is ultimately decided over the general community, by laws which are out of the reach of individuals or combinations.

In the case of wages, it does not appear proper that capital should unopposedly determine the remuneration of labour; nor that labour should decide what portion of profits should go to the workman in name of wages. Till lately, our legislation settled that masters

fund for the express purpose of fighting themselves, and making yet further encroachments. A limited proportion of apprentices was insisted upon; in some cases only one for every five skilled workmen. Bounties were also given to skilled men to retire out of the country.

Trades' unions spread far and wide, whose object was, that not only no member of these combinations should work under a given amount of recompense, but that no person in the kingdom should. General strikes of workmen, in all departments of business, were reported in every day's newspaper. Hundreds and thousands were intimidated, and made to take part in strikes against their will; nay, if one small department of a large factory chose to strike, this circumstance necessarily stopt the work, and threw out of employment hundreds of workmen and families who had no quarrel with the amount of their wages.

Particular committees were appointed for various departments, and among others, guard committees, whose duty, besides seeing that alimented men who had struck should not work secretly; was moreover, to coax from their labour *nobs*, (i. e. men who remained in employment,) by reasoning, drink, treats and flattery.

seize the time for reducing wages when business slackens. Combinations among masters are always much more easy than among workmen.

During the existence of formidable anti-combination laws, which suppressed all attempts on the part of the men to reduce the matter to its natural constitution, the manufactures and trade of Great Britain greatly increased, and the manufacturing population also mightily augmented. In the midst of this, and amid the progressive scientific education of the manufacturing classes, were the combination laws suddenly snapt asunder, and large masses of the people, conscious of innate strength, and apprized of the moral mechanical power of combination, felt their cage doors opened, and they flew out far and wide, like birds, to expatiate over untried scenery, and to form untried projects.

To expect moderation in such a state of things was not wise. The men proceeded from one demand, to many demands. The masters were called upon to raise wages, discharge one set of workmen, and retain another; to surrender individual choice of men, and to take the first on the list at the house of call. If they did raise wages, the extra amount went into a

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Funds were provided by the unions for all these operations, as well as to maintain the hands that had struck. No less a sum than £11,000 was expended by one local combination at Glasgow in less than a year.

The managers or delegates were despotic; men were sometimes bound by strict oaths to go all lengths in obedience to their orders, without discussion or remonstrance. The whole was under a highly artificial state of organization.

A systematic arrangement was frequently made for getting up mobs, keeping watch and ward over masters, and the remainder of the working population.

In many cases, measures of violence were used; vitriol was thrown into people's faces, with a view to injure or destroy them. Severe bodily chastisement was inflicted on unconforming individuals by secret perpetrators. Murder was threatened and committed. Some factories required to be garrisoned with troops for the protection of life and property; and various large works were injured, set on fire, or otherwise destroyed. Misery spread extensively among the refractory workmen themselves and their families. Capital was forced from its

ancient seat of operation, and exiled to places where such difficulties were unknown.

The following is a statement of the loss that resulted from two strikes, in the Staffordshire potteries, in 1836 and 1837; the hands employed, men, women, and children, being, 19,160:—

Loss of wages and expense of union	£152,816
Loss to colliers, crate-makers, and engravers	19,332
Loss to manufacturers in rental of property, interest of capital, and expense of their chamber of commerce	16,462
TOTAL. . .	£188,610*

Although this is, no doubt, a picture of the real state of things, as it partly stood sometime after the combination laws were repealed, yet it is not meant to affirm but that, after all, in the great majority of strikes that did actually occur, or were threatened, the just rights of parties were quietly and fairly adjusted, without many of the evil effects we have described. Nevertheless, it is evident, that combinations among large bodies, for their peculiar interest,

* Journal of Statistical Society, vol. i. pp. 44, 45.

may become too intense. On considering the trial of the Glasgow cotton spinners for murder in 1837, the principal danger to the community seemed to lie in the constitution and operations of the guard committee. We have stated that their appointed duty was to see that alimented men did not secretly work, and also to induce the *nobs* to desist from labour. When men were appointed, like blood hounds, on a scent like this, it is but natural that they should ultimately overstep the intended mark, and overdo the original design. The business which their fellow-workmen expected from them was to convert opponents into effectual servants of the union; their capacity, honour, and reputation for this service was put at stake, and every human passion led up to a dangerous amount of zeal.

If a *nob* were not convinced by long and reiterated arguments, backed by half a pint of whiskey, he was first ridiculed, then reviled or reproached, and finally, knocked down; or at least a rabble of women and children were set upon him; he was stoned home, or otherwise insulted; had names called after him, and dirt thrown on him, by those who thought in so doing they were punishing an enemy to their family

and trade. It is evident that any preventive measures against the ebullitions of trades' unions, ought to have a special reference to that part of the machinery which acts in capacity of guard committee; and the more so, because many of the more able and skilled men in any business, by the time they reach forty years of age, become either masters on their own account, or foremen; the consequence of this is, that the trades' unions are likely to be left in the hands of young journeymen, the ablest and most forward of their caste, no doubt, but whose experience is scarcely commensurate with their task; and hence a rash, hasty and crude mode of operation seems by circumstances to be entailed on that class. The leaders of the Glasgow spinners in the murder case, were all under forty years of age.

From a consideration of these matters we may judge of the amount of mechanical power that is morally effected by combination. Here are parties, many of whom could not come into close contact with their employers without a certain feeling of veneration and awe; who are all of them habituated to receive the commands of their master with implicit obedience; any one of whom a master could crush, or at least, put

to extreme difficulties, if he were so inclined; yet these individuals, in a combined state, become most formidable to their natural leaders and governors; force them into measures, involving, in some cases, the management of their business in important particulars, and the control of their property.

In conversing some time ago with a leader of such associations, the author was informed by him, that many of the principal agents in these operations were of opinion that a universal combination could absolutely be formed in the kingdom of such coherence and strength, as to raise wages to what height the general union should consider right, and maintain them permanently at that point; and thus obtain for the working classes a large share of the profits of capital, to which they had naturally no right or claim. It was clear, however, that these persons did not in their estimates of the combining force understand that there was a barrier beyond which no combination could push the advance of wages, viz., that crisis when the capitalist would find it most for his interest to withdraw his property and manufacture to a locality uninfested with such impediments to the conduct of his business and the reaping of his profits;

and in so doing, would tend to abstract a portion of the annual labour fund, and either throw a certain number of men out of employment, or else, reduce general wages.

Part of the remedy for the overaction of the species of association of which we have been treating, may consist, on the one hand, in masters considering the real power that lies in the combinations of workmen; and on the other, in men considering the politico-economical bearing of the case above stated; and also that strikes may prove more expensive than any benefit would compensate, and even of a ruinous character to the workmen engaged; and therefore it is better to bear a little, than rashly or angrily to go into a strike.

It is not unlikely that further experience on both sides may lead, at least, to such a state of things, as that bodily injury, or breaking of the national peace, shall henceforward be unheard of, and make a part of past history only.

Mobs.—The principle which unites a mob is, in general, a violent and ardent feeling on some special point. In the case of a meal mob, it is a covetous desire of taking possession of a principal article of food, that has become scarce, and

whose price is kept up by the grain merchant. In some political mobs the rescue of prisoners has seemed the sole object, and that being accomplished, the people have dispersed. The associating principle in a mob is proportional to the ardour of feeling that pervades the mass, and to the numbers that compose it. As long as this principle can be kept entire, and the ardour for the common aim maintained, the rabble are irresistible. But if any ingredient of dissociation can be thrown in, the whole powerful chain is dissolved. Some of the Parisian mobs, during the old French Revolution, desisted from the most cruel execution of their worst purposes, in consequence of a well-timed joke thrown in by one of their own demagogues. "Why would you attack that man's house? You might hurt his wife, who is probably mistress to some of yourselves, or his children, who are probably, after all, your own flesh and blood."

The author knew of a case, where a medical man's house being, among many others, in danger from a mob, the ringleaders were suddenly dissuaded from the attack and turned elsewhere, on the suggestion of a batch of tailors, of the danger of retaliation by the doctor, when he

should get any of the party into his hands as a patient. And the little mob of Pharisees and Sadducees were successfully neutralized by St. Paul, as narrated in Acts xxiii. 6, merely by suggesting a point of division among themselves.

The Porteus mob that took place in Edinburgh during last century, was only a mob by name; it was, in fact, a well concerted conspiracy, whose proceedings were marked by peculiar circumstances of deliberation, and associated skill. Lord George Gordon's tumults in 1780 bore more of the ordinary complexion of mobs, being attended with all the wanton rage against popish chapels and houses of Roman Catholics, and sudden flashes of popular outbreaking, usual in such tumultuous routs; the destroying of Newgate, and the King's Bench, and the attempt on the Bank, do not seem to have been at first contemplated, but to have arisen in hasty explosions, in connexion with other parts of the dangerous procedure of these popular affrays.

When the wild turbulence of the multitude cannot be diverted from deeds of violence, by fair means or by the legal seizure of ringleaders, nothing remains for the executive government, or its subaltern powers, but to oppose force to

force. The military are called in for the protection of life and property; and the systematic association of discipline, aided by the physical superiority bestowed by arms, if judiciously applied, generally, without loss of time, puts an end to the riotous confederacy, whose elements of union, though violent, are not of a permanent nature. Previous to this, however, the riot act is read by a civil magistrate, to give due warning to the well-disposed to disperse.

Although one would suppose a mob to be a monster without a head, yet, in fact, it has in general some leader for the moment, whose suggestions direct its fury. In the metropolitan mobs of 1780, above referred to, Lord George Gordon and the members of the Protestant Association were at least the paramount conductors. In those mobs that assailed the venerable John Wesley, it would appear that their instigators were ministers or members of the Established Church, and the immediate ringleaders, persons suborned by them. Sometimes the proximate head is one who becomes suddenly eminent from excess of zeal, or corporal energy in the thick of the affray. The author was partially witness to the operations of a mob which, for a time, successfully repelled the

aggression of an armed force; at some of the most furious charges, the rabble were headed by a miller, whose great stature and white clothes rendered him conspicuous in the *mêlée*; as the white plume of king Henri Quatre did once on the breach of a besieged city.

The frantic efforts of a mob are not unfrequently indicative of ignorance, especially unacquaintedness with the theory or principles of things. Persons, innocent of the events laid to their charge, not unfrequently become the martyrs. And the abrupt cry raised, of such a one's windows, house, or premises, acting both as a vigorous stimulant, and bracing bond of combination, may end in the work of well-accomplished destruction.

CHAPTER VIII.

ARTIFICIAL ASSOCIATION (*continued*).

ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT—UNIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE —SECTS AND PARTIES — HOW FAR DIFFERENCE OF SENTIMENT ALLOWABLE IN A CHURCH — DOMINICAN FRIARS — FRANCISCANS — JESUITS—THEIR CONSTITUTION—SOURCE OF THEIR POWER — CELIBACY OF ROMISH PRIESTHOOD — CRUSADES — VARIOUS ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD — DUELS, TOURNAMENTS—CODE OF HONOUR.

Ecclesiastical Government, Unions of Church and State, Sects and Parties.—Having already disposed of the principle of association, so far as it is connected with civil government among men, we now proceed to consider it as relating to affairs ecclesiastical. It is not part of our proper business in the present inquiry to enter upon the nature of church rule and discipline, or to distinguish the ecclesiastical law from the civil; and, with regard to the different forms of church government, we have already stated, that the principal division is into three species—the episcopal, the presbyterial, and the independent.

The general notion of the first is, ecclesiastical submission to one head or bishop; of the second, to a representative college, elected from the clergy and laity; the third conceives the general body of any church or congregation to possess the power of rule or discipline among its own members, irrespective of any external influence. Each and all of these large and important bodies into which the Christian church is divided, assume that their peculiar plan or platform of government is grounded on the precepts of Scripture, and conformable to the practice of apostolic ages. We do not, of course, offer any opinion on these debateable points, disagreement on which has often created intense dissociation in the universal and general church. But we shall make one remark in passing, viz., that the episcopal form of church government has always been favoured by those rulers who were pre-eminent in holding high views of civil authority, and monarchical influence; and reference may be made on this point to the history of Great Britain in the reigns of James I and Charles I.;—that the presbyterial form in later times made its appearance among nations having a liberal form of civil government, viz., some of the Swiss cantons;—and

that the independent gained reputation in those times and states of society where still more popular forms of government were approved of and established, such as the Cromwellian age.

The political union between church and state may be accomplished in various ways, and up to various degrees. The chief civil magistrate, as in England and Ireland, may be what is called head of the church: that is, he may have the sole power of convoking synods and assemblies; he may be the source of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; he may have the power of adjusting forms of worship, rites, and ceremonies, it being supposed that these are not contrary to Scripture. He may appoint bishops. The bishops, as in England, may, in virtue of their endowments and tenure as barons of the realm, have a place in the upper house of parliament. When civil punishments and penalties are by law imposable in aid of ecclesiastical censures, this is a close conjunction of the two powers. When Great Britain was Roman Catholic, this was the state of the law: and heretics, being judged by the church courts, were handed over to the civil authority for punishment. I am not aware that any such conjunction now exists in this country; though some part of the Westminster

Confession of Faith seems to approve of the principle, when fairly, of course, and equitably applied. In the protestant cantons of Switzerland this amount of most dangerous conjunction of church and state obtains. In consequence of this, less than twenty years ago the dominant party, in many of their churches, having become Socinian in principle, had it in their power to hand their evangelical opponents over to the civil authority for punishment, for evasion of their spiritual decrees; and imprisonment, exile, and in some cases death, was the consequence; holding up to Europe the shocking spectacle of a protestant and presbyterian church being the only ecclesiastical establishment of the age actually shedding blood.

The church courts require frequently to distinguish in cases which come before them, what is a civil question, what an ecclesiastical one; as the former cases are not within their jurisdiction. Thus, in North Britain, the fact of the patron having a right to present to a cure, is a civil question; but the qualification of the presentee is one of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The pope is the ecclesiastical head of Roman Catholic countries. And it has been often a point of dispute, how far the popish persuasion

has a tendency to sever the inhabitant of a protestant nation from perfect allegiance to his own government. On the one side may be stated, the desire of proselytism, and the doctrine of the power of the priesthood to forgive, or grant indulgence to sin, and absolution from civil oaths and engagements, as being unfavourable to the unfeigned loyalty of a catholic subject to a protestant government; as also the doctrines of the perdition of those without the Romish church, and the superiority of the clergy to the laity. On the other hand may be stated, that, with enlightened individuals, the ecclesiastical obligation and discipline are separable from civil law and authority; and, of course, that submission to ecclesiastical rule, out of the kingdom, is consistent with civil dominion within it. On the same side may also be ranged the motives to national coherence we have formerly adverted to, viz., joint interest, neighbourhood, attachment to place of birth, political vis inertiæ, the principles of obedience, education, habit, the perception of the benefit of civil government, and a feeling of the propriety of fidelity thereto.

On the whole, however, we may remark, that the danger to be apprehended from undue

attachment to a foreign ecclesiastical head, is only to be neutralized by education, civil and religious; by illumination of all ranks of the inhabitants; indeed, this will be found the grand and the pleasing remedy for almost all diseases of all states.

It is not here an unnatural or an unimportant question, what ought to be the exact amount of the principle of coherence, or association, in the general gospel church upon earth: whether it ought to be agreed in views, and united on all points, or left partially free to choose its opinions on non-essentials. The great diversity of opinion that has existed among Christians on the non-essentials of religion, inclines us to the latter conclusion: the advocation of constrained and complete similarity of views, is chiefly confined to the votaries of some close ecclesiastical institutions, principally that of the Roman Catholic establishment. It is not improbable that we shall not greatly err in ascribing generally, as has been formerly hinted at, a stronger bond of connexion to agreement in non-essentials than to that in essentials. Doubtless every member of the gospel church loves the brethren; and this bond ought to be supreme. But, though the ties that knit Christian brethren as

such, should have the effect of producing attachment, leniency, forgiveness, and a free permission of opinion in non-essentials; yet, such is human frailty and perverseness, that association, created merely by holding similar opinions on church government, the five points, and so forth, proves, in the general case, much more close and effectual than the brotherhood that arises from being one, and united in the mystical and universal church.

We must not forget, however, that this extraordinary diversity of sentiment is not confined to religious topics. When we enter a lawyer's library, and find some hundred folio volumes of reports, containing myriads of adjudged cases, embracing a prodigious difference of legal views, we shall find as much of skirmish and contest to astonish us, as in all the institutes and sermons of divines. Medical study, the science of political economy, and various others, are replete with a like aspect of dissimilarity and debate. It is well known that varieties of opinion emerge as much from motives of will, of caprice, of situation, of circumstances, of companionship, and of interest, as from pure intellectual views.

It appears, therefore, best for the peace of

the church, that there should be a wide permission granted to difference of opinion in non-essentials; and this being the case, it will be found most consistent with practical quiet and tranquillity, that those who differ from others should, in some particulars, consort together, and somewhat separate themselves, as to the circumstances of time and place. Christians who differ from each other should avoid collision at periods when their adverse views are apt to manifest themselves, such as, times of public worship, or assemblies, or on stated occasions, when particular tenets are to be brought forward or discussed; and in general company, a cautious self-denial, and prudent avoidance of pressing their peculiar views ought to be aimed at. Undoubtedly, in this case, the general church will have the motley appearance of being broken up into various cantonments, and will present an aspect of anything but unity. But as things stand in human affairs, this adjustment will, in point of fact, be the best for ensuring the general tranquillity. A certain noble emulation may take place in this way among churches, and the most unfeigned and cordial cooperation in measures of general utility; and in order, as much as possible, to prevent extreme and

minute subdivision, confessions of faith ought to be made as open and comprehensive as conscience will permit. It is not intended in these remarks to impeach the wise and beautiful doctrine of free communion of evangelical churches.

Dominican Friars and other Religious Orders.—Besides the general band of obedience which unites the Roman Catholic Church, there are certain orders which reduce the whole into various compartments, such as the monks, canons, knights, mendicants, and regular clerks or clergymen. In discoursing upon the power of the principle of association, there are some of these religious fraternities whose elements of combination and operation are worthy of being examined. We shall notice one or two of them.

The order of Dominican friars was instituted in the thirteenth century; its founder was Dominic de Guzman, born in Spain. This society was formed for the purpose of suppressing the Albigenses, who were once so formidable and obnoxious to the Church of Rome; and upon it must chiefly devolve the sin and stigma of the merciless persecution that nearly

exterminated that innocent and suffering pe
The members of this fraternity renounce
individual possessions, and made a vow of
petual poverty; they addicted themselve
preaching and public instruction, and
strenuous opposers of the doctrines of th
formers in the sixteenth century.

The Franciscan order was founded b
Francis in the year 1209. They also emb
the vows of poverty; but, although poor
dividuals, they were rich as a community
in consequence of their successful exertio
advancing and abetting the exorbitant pow
the papal see, to them was entrusted the
of indulgences for sin, and the investme
the treasure which flowed thence; this wa
means of creating interminable disputes a
them, and finally was the immediate cau
the separation of the protestant interest,
dalized at the enormous papal wickednes
effected and accompanied the operations o
infamous system.

But the most powerful species of art
combination that perhaps has ever exist
civil society was that of the far-famed or
Jesuits, instituted in the fifteenth centu
Ignatius Loyola, in express opposition t

ıce of reform under Luther. In half a
ry this association obtained firm and
ɜnt establishments in all the Roman Ca-
: nations in Europe. In a short time they
ned the chief direction in the education of
ı throughout Christendom; they became
ıt exclusively the confessors of kings and
ns of eminence; they moulded the minds
ɜ young for their own purposes, and upheld
ascendancy over them when they attained
ıture years. By and by they obtained the
direction of many of the European courts
governments, besides supreme dominion
:he district of Paraguay, in South America.
had large commercial establishments, and
.thstanding their pretensions to poverty,
l means to elude the vows on that head,
ɔecame preeminent in riches, that great
e of power. Their principles of coherence
ɔperation were of a singular and forcible
cter, partaking much of the nature of
ıry despotism. Their obligations and vows
poverty, celibacy, monastic submission;
ɔesides these, unfailing and exact obedience
ɜ papal see, in all times and circumstances,
n opposition to every other principle; and
vithout pay, support, or promise of reward.

Instead of being immured in cells and convents, they engaged in the most diffuse sociality with all ranks and stations of men; but chiefly attached themselves to those where dominion and influence happened to lie; they looked into, and, if possible, took part in all transactions of importance that had place in the world around them; they studied the disposition of eminent and influential men; they were assiduous in cultivating many friendships; they were engaged in a continual and persevering series of action and intrigue. The power of this great moral machine was wielded by a single man. The general of the order nominated to every office; in him were vested all the funds and revenues. Implicit obedience to his word or whisper was the spring that set every thing agoing, great or small, throughout the whole of their plotting and political confederacy; the members of the community were passive instruments in the hands of the chief; his mind animated and directed the whole mass. The novices of the order were not admitted to full communion till they were 33 years of age; and as the full advantage of the most momentous crisis in all the governments in Europe might often depend upon the skill and sagacity of one Jesuit, the

most scrutinizing pains were taken to admit those only into the society who, by natural and acquired talents, and devotion to the general interest, were worthy of being members of a union, the nature and aim of which were, in many respects, suitable to the agency of the powers of darkness themselves. Accordingly the novices, once every six months, confessed to their superior, under the most awful sanctions, not only their sins and defects, but the inclination, passion and bent of their souls. Each member had a strict charge to examine every action, word or look of the novices. Reports were unceasingly made to the general, of the character, abilities natural and acquired, of the temper and experience in business of all novices; these were accurately registered and indexed, so that the superior, at one glance, could avail himself of all the active energies of the society, by directing the most efficient means to the attainment of the objects he had in view, and concentring the whole conjoined power of an organized multitude of agents into one focus, which ultimately proved absolutely irresistible.

We, therefore, see an eminent instance of the vast power of a well organized association; and before dismissing the subject, it is but justice

to this nefarious conspiracy against the human kind, to admit that, in many instances, they have been extremely useful in education and dissemination of knowledge, and that their management of the affairs of Paraguay in many points entitle them to unqualified praise. It has been said that Mr. Wesley obtained sundry useful hints from the contemplation of the policy, and the organization of this society, and adopted them with far different views from their originator, in the economy and constitution of the Methodist connexion.

We may here advert to a circumstance of association connected with the Church of Rome, which has been often remarked upon, viz. the celibacy of her clergy. By this obligation and rule, these persons are violently and unnaturally dissevered from some of the bands which unite man most closely to his race, namely those of marriage, parentage, and affinity. But the result is, doubtless, an artificial and powerful adjustment, by which the whole energies of mind and motive of the individual, are appropriated to the maintenance and promotion of the interests of his own order.

On the whole, the elements of association under this particular head seem to resolve into

the general aim at one object, for the attainment of which all others were to be abandoned; the sanction of oaths of a peculiarly formidable character; obedience and fear; the coercion of an unparalleled system of espionage; the circumstance of a very nice organization of subordinate parts terminating in a master-spring, the general of the order; the discipline, usages, confessions, by which the whole faculties, ideas, notions, remembrances and actions, were violently churned up into such a medley, as to bring out one costly result and produce; valuable and precious to the pernicious power that luxuriated in the fruit of this singular and extreme model of labour and mental application.

Crusades.—We have already adverted to the association that is effected through the medium of pilgrimages and popular superstitions. We now proceed to notice a wonderful instance of combination proceeding from the same source, and assuming an artificial and determinate form; I mean the crusades in the eleventh and following centuries. It may be asked what potent element of coherence had the effect of instigating about six millions of Europeans to assume the Cross, and precipitate themselves upon the

shores of Asia. It appears that towards the end of the eleventh century, the world having then lasted 5,000 years, there was a general expectation that this sublunary scene would close, and that the personal reign of the Saviour would commence at Jerusalem. Under this impression thousands of all ranks, and sexes, undertook the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, which their spiritual guides informed them should be attended with remission of sin, and the assured welcome to the heavenly haven of rest.

At this period the Mahometans having gained possession of the Holy City, not only impeded the resort of the pilgrims thither, but committed unheard of outrages upon their persons and property.

The news of this brought to Europe, was sufficient to kindle it into a flame; and for two centuries the principal aim of the mightiest potentates and their lords, gentry and vassals, was to chastise the insolence of the infidels, and rescue the sacred precincts from their power. The rapture with which the exhilarating harangues of the churchmen, containing the note of assault and invasion, were listened to, was only equalled by the persevering courage with which the wars were waged, and the

ecstasy that was universally felt, on at last gaining possession of Jerusalem.

The ardour of the times, therefore, acted sufficiently as a principle of association for the crusades, and it was maintained by the following immunities, which were universally conferred on those who assumed the Cross, viz: 1. They were declared free from prosecution for debt during their absence. 2. They were liberated from payment of interest, and of taxes, and from pleading in a civil court. 3. They might alienate their lands, without consent of their feudal superior. 4. They were taken under the special protection of the church, and received a plenary remission of sins. All these circumstances seem to have been equal to the excitement and sustenance of these singular confederacies.

Knighthood.—As that species of knighthood which combined the ecclesiastical with the military character exhibits most of the doctrine of association, we shall confine our remarks to it.

The origin of this had place about the time of the crusades, and peculiar privileges and distinctions were conferred on several orders. The order of St. John of Jerusalem, subsequently

denominated of Rhodes and of Malta, was established in the year 1104. It was governed by a grand-master and council, and was intended to act as a perpetual barrier against the Turk, and to be foremost in defending christian Europe against the assailment of infidel nations. The knights professed poverty, obedience, and celibacy.

The order of Knights Templars was instituted in 1119 under a similar constitution, and for similar purposes. The Teutonic order was later; and besides these, there were established other orders in Spain, during the contests between the native Spaniards and the Moors. After the original intention of these institutions had been attempted to be served in warfare with the enemies of the christian faith, and when the limits of the Turkish power began to be settled and recognised by the nations of Europe, the military spirit of combativeness inherent in these combinations began to fret and eat into their own constitution. When they ceased to use their weapons against a common foe, they began to employ them, each man against his neighbour. Hence arose a singular system of punctilios of honour, feats of arms, tournaments, and duels. It is perhaps not unjustly

supposed that the circumstances and manners of these orders, had a great effect in moulding the minds and characters of the aristocracy of Europe.

In due time the whole science of knighthood consisted in settling the niceties of behaviour in matters of honour; and in adjusting the various legitimate methods of rendering satisfaction, when insult had been personally offered, or reputation aggrieved. This of course included irksome disquisition on numerous technicalities. Thus the grand thrust at honour, which consists in giving the lie, was wrought up into a complicated system of doctrine. There were constituted distinctions, in the lie affirmative, and negative; in the lie universal, particular, conditional, absolute, positive, and privative; and in the lie certain and doubtful. Honour was defined in the most elaborate manner; and among various difficulties attending the adjustment and decision of innumerable points, were the discussion of the cause of offence efficient, the cause formal, the cause material and final, and various other quiddities. The arrangement and disposition of single combats, and duels, were treated with the utmost solemnity, and the most circumspect interest; and the necessity of accepting or propriety of

refusing a challenge was regulated in a refined manner.

Pozzo, a jurisconsult, published reports of precedents and decisions on this science in 1450, "ut nemo rerum tam gravium ignorantiam simulare possit." In this, among a profusion of similar quirks and cavils, was settled, who ought to be held victor, the combatant who had scooped out his antagonist's eye, or he who had separated the adversary's nose; how far stout, healthy men ought to be reduced by bleeding and other means to an equality with their less robust opponents; as we at present give pieces to a deficient player at chess; and so forth.

Whatever may be the opinion formed of the usefulness and propriety of the original institutions, it is probable that few will consider their after existence and coherence as being for the general welfare of Europe. Idleness and sloth would too much replace activity and energy; and any remnant of ancient christian service seemed latterly to be perversely turned into elements for unchristian animosity, and systematic dissension.

The principles of association visible in the combinations of knights, seem to have resembled, in some respects, those we have noticed already under the head of Military Association.

CHAPTER IX.

ARTIFICIAL ASSOCIATION (*continued*).

FRIENDLY, BENEVOLENT, RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES—NEGATIVE ASSOCIATION, A NEW ELEMENT IN SOCIETY, ITS POWER — LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC ASSOCIATIONS — PERIODICAL PRESS — CRITICISM IN THE FIRST PERSON PLURAL — LIVERPOOL ATHENÆUM — AMAZING NUMBER OF AUTHORS IN THE PRESENT TIMES — COMBINATION OF LITERARY LABOUR — ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF PUBLIC MEETINGS — VOTING ALWAYS WITH A SIDE.

Friendly, Benevolent, Religious Societies.—We now advance to the consideration of the principles that unite these associations. Some of them are constituted for the purpose of furthering the interests of the members themselves; some have the welfare of others for their object. Among the first we may mention societies for the relief of the members when in distress, widows' funds, funeral associations and others. A principle of joint interest seems to be the chief element of their coherence. Among the second class we may

record bible, missionary, education societies, and infirmaries, whose principal aim is the immediate benefit of others; where a high sense of duty, and the pleasure of doing good constitute the associating energy. At the same time it is undoubted, that the results of these associations being favourable to the well-being of the world at large, their promoters reap individually a reward in the general improvement which they diffuse throughout society; and therefore a laudable desire of personal advantage may, to a certain degree, form an ingredient in their institution and support.

When a religious society has been established and remains under the management of a particular denomination of christians, it may be reasonably supposed that a portion of the associating principle, whatever it may be, which binds together the original body corporate, will be infused into the minor association; and perhaps a tincture of rivalry of the similar exertions of other parties may help to confirm and unite their operations.

The power of association is very discernible in some of our great religious and benevolent societies. Joint counsel, joint desires, joint operation all thrown into one channel, shall

ultimately achieve important changes. One advantage of combination is this;—if some new plan be proposed, which is suitable to effect its purpose over the mass of society, but which meets with much general opposition, and whose results must be at the best only gradual, and long time be expected to elapse before all the prospects of those interested can be accomplished; in such a case the mere publishing, once for all, the benefits of the scheme will be of little effect; it may, no doubt, create some conversation; and when proposed in any place, may be what is called a "week's wonder;" but the general attention will soon be diverted to other objects, and to more novel schemes, to the news of the day, and to the domestic or political revolutions that are continually changing and new modelling all sublunary things. But let once a regular well compacted combination be formed for the purpose in hand; let the members promulgate their views, hold stated public meetings from time to time, disseminate information on their particular topic, agitate the question, prevent it from falling asleep, set up their frame-work in the eye of all men, as a beacon, a construction that remains perpetually in public view; force the general attention,

keep it up and maintain it, proselytize, write, print, make orations, collect subscriptions, assume the appearance of a great national undertaking, bring all men up to the point of acquiescence or non-acquiescence in the particular views or schemes which are advocated; and then in all probability the long protracted contest will be advantageously closed, and victory rest with the associated adventurers.

This therefore presents considerations which are the proper answer to those who will not join a particular association under the pretence that although the object be good, yet combination shall be of no use. For, if union is power, not only discord and repulsion are principles that break down strength, but holding off in the proper cause perpetuates inability.

An association which is diffuse in its operations, and voluminous in its details, shall lose in intenseness what it gains in width and extent. Thus it has been supposed, that were an auxiliary missionary association to provide and despatch a minister of its own on a particular legation, the members would naturally assume a deeper interest in the undertaking than they would if their subscriptions were thrown into the mass of some of the great metropolitan

unions. At the same time there are considerable advantages to be derived from the joint and connected weight of one large body. Nevertheless it ought to form an earnest aim of all societies of this kind to adjust the constitution and operations, so as to partake as much as possible of the double benefit which is here adverted to. For this purpose, each branch might be left as much as possible to its own management, responsibility and reward; while a general bond of union and animation should still connect the energies of the separate branches; this might be accomplished by annual meetings and reports, and more particularly by a periodical, destined for the purpose of promulgating the transactions, and advocating the cause of the general society.

Negative Association.—I may here take occasion to notice, that, in my humble opinion, there has lately appeared in the world a very important *new element* of joint action; which has scarcely till now been evolved and put into use; and which is more of a negative than of a positive nature, and may therefore be denominated, for want of a better term, "Negative Association."

The principal instance of these novel combinations is that of the associations begun in America, and now widely extended through all corners of the globe for the purpose of promoting temperance. It is believed that no proposal has been received in our times with such universal disapprobation as temperance association; and that none has had on trial more unqualified success. The method of operation in these societies, in holding meetings, pleading their cause, procuring funds, is much the same as that of others, viz:—of a positive *and active nature;* but the pledge or badge of association is negative; it proposes not *to do,* but purposely *to omit the doing of* a particular act; passivity in a certain case, or neutrality, or the refraining from a usual action, constitutes membership. Hence silence, or omission, or non-performance, becomes a mighty agency, which, as if contrary to its nature, speaks aloud, enforces, persuades, influences millions of minds and purposes; and that in one of the most desperate cases of self-denial that the human body or soul is capable of. We do not say that there have appeared no instances of negative association in the world, till the arrival of the American Temperance Societies; for it

must be admitted that from the case of the Rechabites downwards, there have been occasional instances even of temperance association itself. But the principle has only been fully and generally acted upon in present times.

Seeing then we have thus a new element furnished for the adjustment and guidance of mankind, as a mechanical power of association, it becomes not only a curious, but an important inquiry, whether the *negative method* could not be employed to other purposes, besides the cure of national intemperance; and whether other great national sins or improprieties might not also give way to this new plan of dealing. It might be an interesting discussion how far the negative method might be effectual to deliver the land from the pests of duelling, prize and cock-fighting, and other practices which may be branded as sinful, or questioned as inexpedient.

Those who consider this point will probably perceive that the operation of gradual improvement in national manners takes place by much the same process as we have described negative association to work. When, in the course of civilization and refinement, a nation desists from, and neglects its grosser and more bar-

barous vices, it is by a universal and progressive abandonment of the practices in question. But negative association may obtain this miraculous effect by a much shorter course; and therefore presents to the use of the philanthropist a machine of a glorious and transcendent nature. Instead of waiting for centuries of education and enlightenment to achieve a great ameliorating purpose, it seems attainable by negative association in ten or twenty years. I venture to think that this topic is well worthy the attention of the benevolent and practical metaphysician.

Literary and Scientific Associations.—We proceed to consider those societies which are formed for the purpose of promoting science, the arts, and literature. Some of these have been in the nature of clubs, and have aimed only at amusement, or general literary intercourse. Of this kind was the celebrated alliance of which Dr. Samuel Johnson, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and others, were members, which seemed to combine literary and convivial purposes. Others have been purely scientific; refusing any element of mere recreation, and adopting the severer aspect of a meeting for instruction and study.

Several eminent works first made their appearance in associations of this kind, and have afterwards been published to the world. Mr. Henry Mackenzie, author of "The Man of Feeling;" Dr. Beattie, author of "The Essay on Truth;" Professor Dugald Stewart, and others, have first submitted some of their most famous lucubrations to such societies.

Among this class we may reckon various philosophical associations, which have from time to time statedly published their transactions to the world. This was at first chiefly confined to physical researches, mathematics, natural history, chemistry, medicine, agriculture. But of late other branches of literature have also been given to the public in this shape; and long ago philological investigations were thus promulgated by the Asiatic Society. All European nations have engaged in this description of association, and changes and enlargements of the system are daily taking place.

A grand general European scientific meeting was celebrated at Berlin some years ago, for the first time. The festival lasted above a week. Forenoon meetings of literati, and general evening conversaziones were held, where the court, foreign ambassadors, and ladies, were

present. Delegates of all the great societies attended, from Italy, France, Austria, the German States, Sweden, Russia, Denmark, and Great Britain. A similar concourse, for scientific purposes, is now annually held in different large towns of the United Kingdom.

Encyclopædias are of the nature of that species of association which we are considering; and also magazines, reviews, and in general the other productions of the periodical press. In their case we have another instance of the influence of association, worth our notice. If any unknown individual were to write a criticism upon a new work, and give it publicity on his sole authority, it would, probably, be generally disregarded; but let this same critic come forth in the name of a popular review, and announce his single judgment in the form of the first person plural, it immediately weighs deeply with the public; and the new work, in many instances, is received or neglected according as its fate has been doomed by one man in this form. It is worth while for the public to be on their guard against the fallacy which this involves, which they are in fact led into by the natural deference which is given to the supposed judgment of many. And this the more so, as one great

spring of action that guides the mass of periodical writing, is a series of motives derived from party, and the earnest advocation of some particular set of doctrines and opinions, rather than a regard for abstract truth.

But of so great consequence has the periodical press found the assumed supposition of joint judgment and joint criticism, that in few instances have the contributors to this species of composition given their names; indeed this would unveil the mystery at once, and probably, bring the craft into danger. Individuals, therefore, in such a connexion, are thus forced to give up their peculiar and appropriate pretensions to literary fame, in order to secure the reputation of the review or journal for which they write; consoling themselves, perhaps, for want of extensive public notoriety, with that more refined and delicate fame which is enjoyed among literary men themselves, who, admitted behind the screens of the reviewers' desk, know to what hand any particular masterly critique may belong.

The lately-formed institutions for propagating useful knowledge, partake of the nature of the encyclopædia-system; they seem well adapted for bringing the rays of knowledge into one

stream or focus, for clearing away a mass of rubbish, or useless appendage, which appears as a formidable obstacle to the attainment of various departments of beneficial learning.

We have had occasion to remark that the very appearance of association sometimes works important effects; a whimsical instance of which is said to have taken place in the erection of a magnificent range of buildings for literary purposes in Liverpool. Two gentlemen there, of a scientific cast, conversing together, lamented the want of accommodation at that place for the use and encouragement of letters, and agreed to advertise a general meeting to procure subscriptions in order to raise a suite of buildings for this end. The advertisement was published, and the friends arriving at the set time and place, found that they two constituted the whole assembly. "The point is lost!" exclaimed the one—"By no means!" said the other; calculating better the goodness of the cause, and the liberality of the merchants of Liverpool. —"You shall be chairman, and I shall be secretary, and we shall move and pass the necessary resolutions." They did so. The minutes were published as the result of the meeting. The subject engaged the attention of

the whole town: it was approved of, and in a space so short as to be almost incredible, large sums were subscribed, and the splendid establishments referred to were in this singular manner erected.

From whatever reasons it may have happened, the number of writers and authors is surprisingly increased in the present, from what it was in former ages. It has been said, that there is now no exalted literary talent. However that may be, there is now a greater sum of natural endowment evolved throughout the land than formerly; and men of second-rate minds approach so near to what are esteemed the highest class that a material difference is not perceptible. This is not so fine a thing as formerly, when the brilliant star coronet that encircled our apexes of literature was regarded as natively solitary, and worshipped as such by the mass.

To speak of these matters, however, after an utilitarian manner, in the multitude of counsellors there seems to be safety. When we now read the pages of Dryden, Pope, Locke, Johnson, or Burke, and find a large portion of their favourite positions untenable, it is more safe to trust to a state of matters where a thought being finely expressed will not constitute it in the opinion of the world a pillar of truth.

But now there is a great division of literary as well as other occupation; and not encyclopædias and magazines alone, but other works, are undertaken and carried on by the joint labours of a plurality. In this way learned fame shall be henceforward retrenched from its luminary blaze, and become the kindly blink of the cottage fireside; literary power shall pass away from giants to men of middle stature, as the gnarled club of the savage Hercules has given place to the lever of half a dozen white-jacketed artificers; and the erudite effort that formerly ruled the national mind, emanating from some demi-deified sage, will now be supplied by the combined exertion of a few well-informed and sensible individuals.

From all this it is evident, that combination, association, joint exertion, is what, in the course of human circumstances, is becoming the paramount power; any attempt, therefore, such as our present investigation, to detect its nature, and to adjust its operations, may be counted as useful.

Organization and Conduct of Public Meetings.—Public meetings are necessary, in order to obtain the general average sense of a community upon

some common question. For this purpose they ought to be duly advertised, and no unfair exclusion or partiality of attendance should be admitted in their convention. They ought further to be put into such a state of organization as fairly to evolve and express the general opinion. This may be effected by supplying the assembly with a head or director in the form of chairman, and a secretary for the purpose of preserving the record of the proceedings. Movers and seconders of resolutions, as they arise in the course of the transactions, and in some cases tellers to assist the president in ascertaining the state of voting, may also be considered as prominent parts of the structure of a public meeting; without which, or at least without some of these organs, it would be a mere mob or chaos of confusion.

As difference of opinion may reasonably be supposed to exist, it is part of the object of a well constituted meeting to ensure a fair hearing to all facts and arguments that can be adduced on either side. But as the time of the mass of persons collected together is of value, and not to be lightly encroached upon, nothing irrelevant to the objects of the convocation is to be permitted. Speeches or statements of undue

length, or containing matter that does not bear upon the question, cannot be tolerated. Displays to gratify mere selfishness of individuals, or undue endeavours after preeminence, are to be checked. Confusion is also to be avoided, order and method secured as much as possible. And whereas improper language, virulent heat and personalities, are not only an indignity to the meeting, but excite commotion, and impede and prevent the progress of business, these must be repressed.

All this, except in particular cases, is generally obtained by due organization, and by attending to rules fitted to govern assemblages convened together for the purpose of business.

The principal part of the duty of keeping order, seeing that all parties be impartially heard, that no irrelevant business be introduced; and of finally declaring the sense and vote of the house, devolves upon the chairman; who is always held as possessed of peculiar and extensive powers for carrying these important objects into effect. The authority necessarily conferred on the chairman, therefore, is in some respects nearly despotic. He is the sole preserver of order; speeches are made only by his permission; every one ought to defer to the chair.

Yet, in the exercise of his lofty functions he should consider himself as the servant of the meeting; and, as was once said by a chairman on a noted occasion, have neither eyes to see, ears to hear, nor mouth to speak, but as authorized by the assemblage, or as acting in due furtherance of its real interests.

Such a person, therefore, ought to be one who understands the scope and detail of the business in hand; impartial, and fearless of man's disapprobation. If possessed of great talent, powers of language, superior wealth or station, these endowments may aid and enhance the value of the essential qualifications. He ought to attend minutely to the conduct of the proceedings; and in very complicated affairs, it may be well that he take occasion to report to the meeting, from time to time, the exact position and state in which the business is at the moment situated. He ought not to advocate any measure himself; and if possible, his conduct should be such as that it would be impossible therefrom to discover his private opinion. Speaking privately to the chairman is irregular.

The business of the meeting is conducted through the medium of motions, and discussion and resolutions following upon these. De-

sultory conversation, which does not mould the matters into such a shape as that they may forthwith enter under the decision of the meeting, is to be avoided. When a distinct motion, consistent with the object of assembling, has been made and seconded, discussion follows upon it. Speakers are heard in succession, as they catch the eye of the chairman; and, although he is bound to receive and put any seconded motion to the sense of the meeting, considerable discretion is allowed him to cut short lengthy debates and speeches. The chairman alone has the effective power of calling and bringing a member to order. None else has legitimate authority to do so, or to interrupt a speaker, except through the medium of the chair; though, for brevity's sake, individuals sometimes take on hand to call to order; always, however, it should be understood, with a reference and subject to the decision of the president.

If a motion be not seconded, it is considered as not worthy of general attention, and *eo ipso* falls to the ground. An original motion may be discussed and decided upon affirmatively or negatively. It may, however, be met by an amendment, which, if carried, supersedes the

original proposal. If it be not desirable at the time to entertain the question, a postponement may be proposed; which, being carried, sets aside the original motion. And this form, when it has a remote date, is frequently adopted in order to get quit of a proposition without farther debate; thus to read a bill "this day six months."

Moving the previous question is another contrivance to drop an inexpedient measure, without the ungracious appearance of a direct negative, or even of an improvement upon it. This proceeds upon a fiction, it being taken for granted that there is another question before the house, which legally precludes by priority the simultaneous entertainment of any other proposition.

Failing these, a motion may be made to adjourn, which concludes for the time the whole proceedings. And if this is proposed and carried "*sine die*," i. e. without a fixed time for reunion, the matter in hand is made void permanently.

No member ought to speak twice on a motion. The original mover is alone entitled to reply, and must confine himself to answer the facts and arguments that have already emerged, with-

out opening up any thing new, which might require from the opposite side further remarks, and thus lengthen out the procedure indefinitely.

After a sufficient discussion, the chairman judges that a division should take place, which he accomplishes by a show of hands, or by counting the numbers on either side himself, or with the assistance of tellers. It is his province and duty also to declare the result.

In this department, if there are several amendments, the last is put first; and then the next in succession up to the original motion. In adopting this plan, the time and trouble of a plurality of divisions of the house may be saved, and yet the whole views and desires of the members be exhausted. Thus, if an original motion propose that thirty functionaries be employed in some undertaking; an amendment is moved that the number should be only twenty, and this on the ground of saving expense, or for some other reason; a second amendment is made that only ten be employed. Suppose that the last amendment is first put and carried; it is clear that the views of the majority are by that single division exhibited, and the question exhausted; because those who desire twenty are against the employ-

ment of thirty; and those who desire ten only, rejecting twenty, are *à fortiori* opposed to the employment of thirty.

When all the motions are made, discussed, and disposed of in some of the forms above mentioned, the chairman vacates the chair, and thus dissolves the meeting.*

It may here be proper to notice a circumstance illustrative of our subject. The advantage of strict and continuous association has been found by political leaders of so much consequence, that it is a favourite maxim with some of these, that men should vote for their side through right and wrong, notwithstanding the particular measure should ill coincide with their private principles. It is no doubt true that it is sometimes expedient to drop small differences and waive minor and non-essential points, in order to maintain the framework of a permanent and steadfast party. Yet in matters of conscience, this notion may be carried too far; and voting on any occasion against fair and honest principle, however it may gain a partial and insulated advantage, shall doubtless, in the final account, prove the falsest policy.

* Chairman's Guide, by T. Smith. London: Longman & Co.

CHAPTER X.

ARTIFICIAL ASSOCIATION (*continued*).

FREEMASONRY, ITS OBJECTS AND RESULTS — FAIRS, HORSE AND YACHT RACES, THEIR PRETENSIONS — GREGARIOUSNESS DIFFERENT FROM SOCIALNESS — STRICTURES ON IT — CONVIVIAL CLUBS — UNDUE PUBLICITY OF MERCANTILE LIFE — FLOCK AND HERD SYSTEM OF ENTERTAINMENTS — NECESSITY FOR OCCASIONAL SOLITUDE — LORD BYRON'S TESTIMONY — THE ARTIFICIAL DRINKING USAGES ASSOCIATE MEN — TAVERN RESORT ALSO — SUPPRESSION OF RETAIL DRINKING, HOW FAR RIGHT — EXCLUSIVENESS.

Freemasonry.—It is proper here to take notice of that description of association which has place under the title of Freemasonry. This is an institution of some antiquity, whose objects were originally fraternal and benevolent; but whose proceedings and mysteries are kept concealed under the bond of an oath.

The secrets of freemasonry being enclosed under the key of a watch-word, this has induced many to attempt its discovery who have not been regularly initiated. It is said to be particularly an object of female curiosity. Some

German ladies, incensed at their husbands' taciturnity on the point, are reported to have infused such prejudices into the mind of the Empress Queen Maria Theresa, as to have endangered the existence of the masonic confraternity in the empire. It seems certain that our own Elizabeth viewed the whole clandestine mystery with the jealousy, it may be, both of a woman and a sovereign; and took measures for the forcible dissolution of the principal metropolitan lodge. The grand-master, however, with great tact and judgment, prevailed on the queen's officers to suspend proceedings, to engage in the occult rites, to become members, and receive the oaths; after which, they being now "brethren of the mystic tie," made so favourable a report to the queen as to drive away her wrath, and, perhaps, quench her curiosity.

Some zealous masons have claimed the Eleusinian and other ancient mysteries, as the germ, or at least as an example, of freemasonry. But this pretension is now generally disallowed.

On the banks of the Rio Nunez, in Central Africa, there exists a secret society, similar to a masonic brotherhood, and pretending to the knowledge of important secrets. The want of

a watchword has subjected to violence strangers who have ventured among them. In the kingdom of Bambarra, like constitutions are mentioned by René Caillié; and others of the sort are said to exist among various savage nations.

In the masonic lodges differences of ordinary rank are proposed to be laid aside, the common disputes that divide mankind to be forgotten, and an endeavour is understood to be made for the time to open the mind to feelings of kindness and brotherhood to all members of the craft, of whatever rank or nation they may be. It is undoubted that strangers in foreign lands, and in circumstances of distress and destitution, have sometimes found their account in being members of this universal association. In states of society where eternal bloody wars have stamped a general unkindness and ferocity upon the human character, the bland institution of freemasonry might sometimes recal men to the true objects of life, and intimate the folly, as well as wickedness, of perpetual enmity. The chief defect of its principle of unity and brotherhood seems to be, that the kindly affections are only at the disposal of a brother, but do not embrace the whole human race. The benevolent regard is avowedly partial, and

intended to be held forth, not to the innocent and deserving, but to those only who chance to be within the pale of membership. The high pretensions of the votaries of freemasonry to reform the world, are quite without foundation; they merely cast a casual drop of aimless good-will into an ocean of antipathy and division. Even this, their original intention, is now for the most part abandoned, and they seem to remain only a framework of conviviality for the purpose of passing a leisure hour; evincing, however, to the curious inquirer into the physiology of the human mind, how prone it is to association; how determined and persevering is this element of our constitution, which will rather waste, and employ itself on trifles, than want an object.

Fairs, Horse and Yacht Racing.—We now direct our attention to fairs and horse races, which convene annually multitudes in all parts of the kingdom. The advocates of horse racing put forth considerable pretensions to usefulness, in maintaining and improving the breed of horses. This has, perhaps, been overrated: at all events, public spirit is clearly not the chief element of association in these assemblies. The real bond, besides the deep craving for gain in wagers

and bets is, that feeling of joy and exultation of which both horses and men participate in the exuberant energy of muscular exertion employed in intense rivalship of speed. Besides the powerful sympathy producing conjunction and cooperation, we must also reckon the peculiar poignancy of pleasure derived from crowded participation, and the delight of beholding the gregarious array and showy spectacle in the open air, the parade of equipages and horses, the display of ladies, the lustre of female dress and beauty, the fascinating exhibition of skilful horsemanship, the refreshment of the booth, the mixture of the great and the gay with the labouring and the destitute, the variety of motley groups, and multifarious diversity of human character that is paraded on a well-frequented race ground, and all these pleasurable feelings swallowed up and lost in the ecstatic sentiment formed by the view of a desperately contested run, when the eye and soul of the spectator fly with the winner to the goal. Whether all this makes up to society for the idleness, the drunkenness, the waste of time, that attends these proceedings; for the general spirit of gambling, for the reckless, unprofitable love of gregarious assemblage which is thus engendered, may be

questioned. On the whole, there seems little good reason for the patriot encouraging this bewitching, but deteriorating, species of tumultuous assemblage. If it die a natural death, they would scarcely be wise who should lament it, or take any trouble to raise it again to life or active operation.

The system of yacht-sailing clubs is said to help in furnishing hints for the improvement of the make of vessels, of the sails and cordage, and in practical navigation. Perhaps, some of the evils that we have noticed as associated with horse-racing, may be affirmed of this description of association also.

With regard to fairs,—these were originally stated concourses for traffic; and in the circumstances of the country a century ago, were necessary for the accommodation of the inhabitants. But as all the articles that were wont to be sold at fairs can now be had in better condition in the ordinary retail trade, fairs have become, with the exception of the large cattle markets, mere assemblages chiefly for the purposes of amusement. Donnybrook fair in Ireland has been often described. The slender amount of happiness or exhilaration obtained on this festive occasion is so much overbalanced

by the sum of misery which it annually creates, that most philanthropists will not be ill-pleased to know that this mart of wickedness and woe is on the wane. It is probable that few of the other fairs of the United Kingdom possess more flagitious features than this; but the associating energy of them all is not now of a description favourable to the general welfare.

Gregariousness.—We must constantly bear in mind, in considering the subject of association, that there is a real difference between socialness and gregariousness. In social life there is much true profit and pleasure; the sympathies of mankind are more copiously drawn out, and moral and intellectual intercourse instituted and maintained. But gregarious life presents fewer points of attraction and sympathy. Socialness may exist within gregariousness, but it is in danger of being stifled. A knot of friends may attend a fair, or race course, and enjoy social intercourse together, notwithstanding the bustle and confusion pressing all around; but not so much communion of mind as in a summer day's ramble over a mountain ridge.

On the whole, it seems problematical whether gregarious assemblages for the purpose of

recreation, do not contain more of evil than good to society. And it is no less doubtful how far the real and salutary purposes of recreation are promoted by them. The majority of those who attend fairs and horse races, and mix in the concomitant entertainments and practices that ever have accompanied these places of concourse, do not in the sequel find that they have been refreshed, invigorated, or made more fit for the business and duties of life. All recreation ought to have this clear and defined object. But the fashionable devotee to gregarious assemblages, whether of the genteel or of the vulgar mob, in general finds in the conclusion, satiety, not satisfaction; debility, rather than invigoration; and regrets, more than agreeable remembrances: whereas, domestic recreations, and those enjoyed in less crowded resorts, seem to accord better with genuine enjoyment and profit. Whether it be possible to put multitudinous resorts for pleasure upon such a footing as to avoid that portion of public mischief that has hitherto mingled in the train, might be a pleasing speculation. The profusion of spirituous liquors used on such occasions in Great Britain, gives a somewhat revolting character to British diversions. It is probable that the

public entertainments of the continent, as they lack this fertile ingredient of wickedness, are less immoral than the British; or at least, they want the feature of drunkenness and its long retinue of disasters, to add to the other exceptionable parts of the procedure.

The sympathy of numbers does not seem to be attended with bad effects in concourses for moral and religious purposes, or in assemblies for education or scientific improvement. The congregation of individuals to witness a military review seems less objectionable than some other gregarious meetings for amusement; but in this case the rules of procedure are strict, and governed by laws that are always considered necessary in this species of assemblage. Whether the infusion of somewhat of the straitness of military regulation into general resorts for public amusement would be beneficial, might be a question of interest among those, who know how to distinguish liberty from licentiousness.

Convivial Clubs.—We now arrive at those conventions which have no other end in view, than mere conviviality and passing the time. These are in general little better than the

result of a diseased state of the social system; where a craving for continuous intercourse induces an apparent necessity for the artifice of clubs, and stated tavern resorts, in order to satisfy longings for association and fellowship, that by excess of indulgence have become inordinate.

We have just adverted to the danger of excess in publicity and gregariousness; and as this is an error which threatens to increase more and more with augmented population, and the yearly increments of our large towns, we may be excused in repeating the caution. In the course of a day, a retired country proprietor finds it quite sufficient to interest him in the affairs of life, that he hold intercourse with two or three strangers, over and besides the members of his own family: but a mercantile man in a town will have necessary occasion to commune and deal with several dozens, or scores of individuals, in the course of a forenoon. One would think this should be found rather a burden, and that whenever business permitted, the merchant would retire to the solitude of his dwelling, or his garden, or his villa, either to meditate on his private affairs, to contemplate public measures, to

cogitate schemes of usefulness for future action, to improve his mind, or to prepare for the future world. But it is believed that general mercantile custom, in the provinces at least, imposes a necessity that he spend some hours more in walking up and down the news room or exchange, although he has heard, read, and digested all the important novelties of the day already; after this it is not unusual to dine out, or to have a party at home, and then the club in the evening. The lady of the house partakes of many of those social pleasures, and makes up for the debarment from others of them, by a round of forenoon visits; so that, except an hour or two in the morning, there is scarce any portion of any day that these parties can call their own. It is needless to remark that such a course of life is an erroneous one; that it impairs the faculties instead of promoting their improvement, and fixes a mediocre, vapid, unprofitable character on urban society. The lower and middle ranks, who are not fettered by these chains, and who are now stretching forward in the career of mental advancement, will not be very long in overtaking and outstripping a race of gentlemen and ladies, whose game of life, as it may be fairly called,

is founded on principles and practices such as these.

It is impossible here not to advert to the increasing flock and herd system, in the economy of convivial and domestic life, which appears to be growing upon the British public. The tendency at present seems to be to invite and entertain large assemblages, rather than to enjoy the familiar and endearing society of those whom we esteem or love. In such a case, show of dress, a critical arrangement of the table, sumptuous preparations, publicity, and notoriety, usurp the place of friendship, of instruction, of the pleasures of wit, humour and anecdote; and conversation itself, as an enjoyment and art, is said to be perceptibly on the wane among us. The charms of genuine and cultivated sociality, the delights of mental intercourse, are exchanged for a vapid display of fashionable apparatus, and a barbarous exhibition of riches and material pomp. Cowper says of such a system:—

> "They are happiest who dissemble best
> Their weariness; and they the most polite
> Who squander time and treasure with a smile,
> Though at their own destruction. She that asks
> Her dear five hundred friends, contemns them all,
> And hates their coming." Task, II. p. 78.

Byron remonstrating with a friend on the continuous publicity of his life says, "The truth is, you live near the stove of society, where you are unavoidably influenced by its heat and vapours. I did so once, and too much. As my success in society was not inconsiderable, I am surely not a prejudiced judge upon the subject, unless in its favour; but I think it, as now constituted, fatal to all great original undertakings of every kind."

Artificial Drinking Usages.—This is at present a very obscure subject. Most readers may be inclined to ask what these are? The author has treated of them largely elsewhere.* But as they present a formidable element of association in general society, it will be necessary very briefly to notice the topic along with others.

It appears that there are a variety of occasions that occur weekly, monthly, yearly or several times a year, among the working classes in this country, when, by the rules of each trade, considerable sums are extorted or levied, in a compulsory manner for drink. It is

* Philosophy of Drinking Usage of the United Kingdom. London, 1839. Houlston and Stoneman.

probable that, in the metropolis alone, half a million sterling is annually exacted in this way. Each trade seems to have from half a dozen to twenty of these rules in continual operation; some of the names of these regulations, which are thus perpetually and powerfully associating the working classes, for the purposes of drinking, are as follows, viz:—apprentices' footings, apron stamping, backing, bargain and sale drink, bean feasts, black pots, bullshilling, buttoning work drink-fine, christmas drink boxes, collop money, colting, flockers, joist money, journey footing, launch bowl, marriage and baptism drink, mornings, mugging, pitcher law, rag feast, rearing pots, roofing pints, smyrna pints, socket money, tramp drink, shifting bench and vice, waygoose, wetting tools and clothes, and so forth. If we include the various methods by which alcoholic liquor is made the organ of courtesy in this country, and the numerous occasions in domestic life, when the offer and acceptance of liquor are necessary as the mere symbols of compliment, we shall find several hundreds of instances similar to those above stated, when the inhabitants are artificially and forcibly associated for the purposes of drinking, by laws, which it is the more difficult to con-

trol, as they are in many cases fortified with terrible penalties.

The consequence of all this is, that the societies for promotion of temperance have in this country, besides the physical craving of appetite, met with a vast moral enginery in favour of intemperance. In fact the British nation constitutes a large intemperance society; some of whose rules are those above stated. One principle of British life, as it at present stands, is to create an artificial connexion between liquor, and business, and courtesy; and this branches out into a variety of ramifications, with which the reading public are as yet unacquainted, but the investigation of which is doubtless of importance to the community.

To those interested in the study of the principle of association, some curious phenomena have occurred in the attempts to break up and abrogate such drinking usages, which have been from time to time made by the advocates for temperance. Association, and that even of a few individuals amid a great number of workmen, has been found a very perfect engine for abolishing these pernicious customs. But we shall not here insist further on this point.

Tavern Resort.—Those accustomed to consider the various workings of the principle of association, will not be surprised to find tavern resort stated as an element of combination well worthy of our notice and consideration. Most people, however, will not at first give way to this conclusion.

It may be said that drinking is a matter of mere option; that no man need frequent a tavern or public house unless he choose; that the retail system of selling liquor presents nothing to remark, to censure, to arraign.

We are of a different opinion. Social public drinking has in the vast majority of cases proved detrimental to human welfare and happiness; and the system of retail sale, and the alliance and confederacy of tavern resort prove, especially to the working classes, a source of serious and continuous evil. Men are thus attracted, allured, drawn together, wound round by the chains of habit, of vitiated appetite, social encouragement, and in many cases conventional restraint, as in the instance of drinking usage above mentioned.

It becomes therefore a fair and discussible question, how far a public remedy may not be found for a retail system, which associates so

strongly for evil purposes, and presents such unparalleled temptations to intemperance, as seem in our present national case to be nearly irresistible; and, whatever may be said upon the wholesale disposal of alcoholic liquor, and its use in families, whether, at all events, the pernicious association of tavern resort should not be altogether suppressed under every well regulated government.

We are not in this country without precedent for preventing association for various purposes that seem to militate against good citizenship. Association by secret oath is illegal, and combination for seditious and treasonable or even gambling purposes.

This subject of suppression of tavern resort is not mere matter of theory; it has been long partially acted upon in our own land, in the case of enactment for shutting taverns during part of Sunday. But several of the States of America have already proceeded a step further, and suppressed altogether the retail traffic of ardent spirits in quantities under fifteen gallons; thus abrogating the gin shop system of retail, and releasing their people from the insidious attractions and perils of this species of association.

Rank, Fashion, Exclusiveness.—The foregoing part of the subject seems naturally to lead us to another branch of association, with which we shall close our instances of this principle, viz. the universal combination that is effected through the influence of fashion among all ranks and circles of inhabitants.

The times of our meals, the food and liquors we use, our dress, its materials, shape, and appurtenances, our recreations to a considerable extent,—are all adopted by no other rule than a principle of imitation.

The man has as little power over the pattern of the coat, or the woman over the form of the gown and head dress, as he or she possesses over the keys of a foreign treasury; and it would be perhaps easier to double the capital of all the benevolent societies of Great Britain, than to alter the prescribed fashion of the dinner course. We can only treat of this point in so far as regards association, but the combination that is effected through the land by fashion, in matters of business, modes and manners, living, recreation, dress and other circumstances, is vehement and general throughout. Our morals, our intelligence as a people, depend not a little on the government of these

particulars; but unhappily we have no other rule by which to regulate them, but the principle of imitation above mentioned.

We have entered so fully, in the work above quoted on drinking usages, into the inconvenient effects of making mere imitation a chief principle of action, that we shall not reiterate the argument in this place.

In most capitals in Europe, and indeed in large towns every where, there is a tendency to a species of association among the votaries of fashion, which has been denominated *exclusiveness*. It seems to be the result of a morbid and highly artificial state of society; as its objects of combination are not professed or pretended to be either for public or private benefit: indeed the general principle at work seems to be one of negative rather than of positive quality, containing any actual ingredient of confederacy.

With reference to companionship, acquaintance and intimacy in general society, and the elements of desirableness looked for among associates, we may reckon the qualities of birth, fortune, beauty, place, accomplishment, talent, and social love of pleasure; and a person possessing these, may be supposed sufficiently endowed for a niche in any circle. Yet

in certain factitious states of manners, a person having all these, may yet be without the periphery of ton or fashion; or at least of some circle, that assumes itself to be the most recherché of the coteries, cliques or sets of the place.

The method by which this closeness of fashionable phalanx has been brought about, may be called a constitution of exclusiveness; and if the combination be well managed, it shall be as difficult for the general herd of loungers to break into the circumference, as it would be for a squad of Tartar grooms to break through the hollow square of a Highland regiment. Although however an individual professing a well assorted coffer of qualities and accomplishments, may yet be kept apart from the modish sanctitude of certain coteries, yet nevertheless the qualities of birth, fortune, place, and others above mentioned, must be found, at least collectively, in a circle of fashion that shall vote itself of supreme bon ton. In perverse contradiction to our former position, an individual possessed of neither birth, fortune, accomplishments, nor good or agreeable quality of any kind, may, by some strange turn in the principle of exclusiveness, be an admitted and authorized member of the favoured fraternity.

The desirableness of what is rare and difficult of attainment, arising from a sentiment which is common to all men, is concerned in this creation of the breath of fashion; and a principal constituent part also is the principle of association.

The leaders of a modish clique of exclusives, such as we have attended to, do not repose upon beds of rose leaves. Their position is one of careful anxiety, and intense irksome watchfulness. There is a continual strain to prevent their line from being broken; to exclude intruders, and to keep up the condition of rarity and difficulty of attainment.

It is sometimes necessary, in the nice and complicated operations of the machinery of fashion, to undervalue rank, wealth, talent, place, and even royalty itself, in order to enthrone exclusiveness. But when such qualifications can be made favourable to the interests of the clique, they are acceptable.

Cooks, artists, authors, savans, are made use of for a special purpose; enthusiastic or natural sentiments, however, are in danger of being considered as in bad taste. Brusquerie of address takes the place of sustained politeness; a heartless carelessness of all who are not in the coterie, becomes a prevalent rule of sentiment.

It is necessary to dress and talk particularly, to keep up the badge of the assumed and arrogated distinction. Intellectual conversation, if considered covetable, might unduly open up the *cordon d'exclusion;* it is therefore deprecated as being "prosy;" any thing beyond the costume of life pedantic; vice becomes venial, if within the circle, and not outrageous and flagrant; indignation at crime is vulgar; native expressions of feeling are underbred effusions; and the distinctions of good and bad in all senses blotted out, and changed for the circumstance of being within or without the favoured and excluding circle.*

* The Exclusives.

CHAPTER XI.

DISSOCIATION.

DISSOCIATION — WAR — SLAVERY — CAPTIVITY — PRISON DISCIPLINE—ANCIENT CONJUNCTION OF CONQUEST AND GENERAL CAPTIVITY — EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS — SEGREGATION OF FEMALES IN EASTERN COUNTRIES—EUROPEAN MODES IN THIS RESPECT—GRADATIONS OF RANK, HOW FAR THEY DISSOCIATE—THE DIFFERENCE OF DIALECT OF RICH AND POOR, AND OF THEIR TRAINS OF THOUGHT AND SENTIMENT—AMERICAN SOCIETY IN THIS RESPECT.

HAVING said so much upon association and combination, we may shortly advert to some circumstances that cause disjunction and dissociation.

From the foregoing deductions it will be obvious that the general condition of mankind tends to form materials for the principle of association to operate, rather than the reverse. And indeed sometimes the act of severance of masses of people into portions, has the effect of combining the parts into firmer cohesion than before. A few elements, or rather external circumstances of dissociation, exist; but they

seem to be chiefly produced by the evil passions, the folly or wickedness of mankind; and thus not to be natural to his constitution, when that is in a sound and proper state.

The most extensive and mighty of these is the state of war among bodies politic. By this satanic scourge, all amicable relations between the belligerent states are broken up, and systematic variance and discord introduced. The pacific intercourse of traffic is suspended; ports and places, once open and friendly, are now shut, garrisoned and guarded. The pleasurable communication of travelling is stopped, or adopted at the risk of liberty or life. Nations frown on one another, and the misery and carnage that follow pertain more to the character of devils than men. Multitudes of soldiers are severed from their families and countries; and, united in an unnatural and unsatisfactory conjunction, are dismissed by their respective states sometimes on the most atrocious errands. Nevertheless, there is such a thing as a just and necessary state of warfare. And it would be hard to confound the honourable profession of arms with the wickedness, wantonness, and heartlessness of those civil powers, who are the guilty means, not unfrequently, of making host

to encounter host. And it is incredible what small pains have hitherto been taken in the world to avert or evade this tremendous species of dissociation; while the history of nations seems to exhibit war as the natural condition of man, instead of an artificial and compulsory inversion of the grand and true tendencies of his nature in its soundest state. We have already adverted to some views that have lately emerged among European politicians, as not unlikely to be a permanent obstacle to the perpetual placing of nations into an attitude and state of war.

Slavery.—Akin to this prodigious organ of dissociation is that of slavery, which frequently snaps rudely asunder all the finer and more endeared ties of humanity, and, by a forced adoption, presents in their stead the revolting connexion of master and slave. The consideration of this subject, with its necessary concomitant of the African trade in men and women, is so lacerating to the feelings of most persons of ordinary sensibility, that they would gladly be spared the horrors of the recital, and thus flinch from the duty of taking their share in the abrogation of this vast evil. It becomes, therefore,

necessary for the friends of slaves to bring the subject frequently home to the consciences of men, though at the expense of crucifying them in the tenderest points; and thus force humanity to rid itself of so great an impropriety.

Captivity.—The state of captivity is another dissociating circumstance worthy of notice. Sometimes an individual is secluded from his species by reason of the commission of crime; and as the perpetration of all criminal offence tends to create disturbance, jealousy and variance, the loss that society sustains to its socialness from the segregation of one member, is made up by the prevention of the spreading of the elements of dissociation, which he would effect by his actions and example. The separation and captivity of an individual, for mere debt, seem an invasion of the social principle, not justified by the occasion. But in some countries a remedy is provided in a legal process, by which a debtor, after a short incarceration, obtains his liberty on a full surrender of his property for the payment of his debts.

When we read and ponder the labours of Howard among the prisons of Europe, or visit any of these dreary mansions ourselves, we

are struck with the tendencies that seem inherent in mankind to forget the lonely prisoner: —to forget that a sedentary captive condition would require the best air, and especial adjustments for the preservation of life; that a sentence of imprisonment does not necessarily comprehend an adjudication also to darkness, filth, disease, slow death, or education in crime, or even strictly, to any personal discomfort, further than that of want of locomotion and liberty. In this case, as in others we have elsewhere noticed, mere neglect creates astounding calamities, greater sometimes than the collective deliberate malice of a district could achieve.

Without allowing ourselves to be dejected by the melting delineation of the thirty-years' prisoner of Sterne, whose children, although their case was sad, must have come to the years of discretion, let us for an instant look at realities; —see the venerated Carstares* thievishly thrusting his conjugal inch square epistles through the key-hole, to be caught at in dead silence by her whom he designates "his very choice and dear heart." Or let us consider John Bunyan, sitting

* Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and private chaplain to King William III; imprisoned during the struggle prior to the revolution, 1688.—See his state papers.

amid the spiders in Bedford jail, writing in midnight gloom by a dusky taper, while his little blind girl has fallen asleep with her head resting on his knees, fatigued with trailing through the land to sell the tag laces he had constructed for sheer subsistence. Do not let us permit ourselves to arise in wild wrath, prepared to wish the annihilation of the Church of England and the English aristocracy for such things. Let us look to ourselves. Are similar atrocities yet permitted in our land? Notwithstanding all our parliamentary investigations, are not our prisons generally unhealthy, and generally mere schools for youth to attain, with facility accumulated upon facility, the most subtle direction in crime.

If the tendency, therefore, in mankind has been hitherto uncontrollable sleep and apathy upon this subject, perhaps the very effective moral power we are treating of, viz., association, may help to counteract indifferent, aimless somnolency on this point:—a condition of the popular mind which acts throughout our gloomy world of jails, with as much energy as if ten thousand air pumps, or ventilators, were employed to abstract the pure atmosphere, and inject foul air—ten thousand carts and teams to heap filth

and abomination — and ten thousand instructors, commissioned to teach the more abstruse and artful doctrine and practice of wickedness.

In former ages, and more especially in eastern countries, war and captivity, or slavery, were more closely combined than at present. When one state subdued another, the result frequently was the forced migration of the better part of the conquered to serve as slaves to the victors. When Samaria was taken by the King of Assyria, he carried away the Israelites, and settled them in the cities of the Medes. And Nebuchadnezzar carried from Jerusalem the princes and mighty men, the craftsmen and smiths; none remained but the poorest of the people. When the combined circumstances of war, slavery, and captivity, had place, the dissociation of families and kindred must have been great. And from this we may see of how much importance it is to the sociality of life, that in times of war as much facility as possible should be given to the mutual exchange of prisoners by the belligerent powers. Buonaparte was the cause of much misery and distress by his perverse and wanton refusal to exchange prisoners.

Segregation of Females.—It is a very important inquiry, how much the socialness of human life is marred and curtailed by the segregation of the female sex pursued in Turkey, China, and other eastern nations. Probably one half of the advantages and pleasures of social intercourse are lost to these nations by this unhappy and barbarous policy. We have not, however, this arrangement to complain of in British society; and in France, some people consider that the publicity and notoriety of female life impairs the general character of the nation.

It is obvious that in the progress of general enlightenment, and in the process of fortifying the female character in some points up to masculine strength, which is now an avowed aim of education, woman is to play another part in society than formerly. The increase of popular female writers on topics once considered the preserve and warren for the expatiation of the other sex, is a harbinger of this new state of things; and as this is the extreme opposite to the state of female segregation in eastern climes, which we have alluded to, some observations on the point would not, perhaps, be out of place. But we must now be contented with short notices, and draw to our conclusion.

Gradations of Rank.—Some countries are divided only into two large classes, the noble and rich, and the lower orders. In China and Turkey the emperor stands as a tall pillar alone; and with the exception of state officers and military gradations, there is little of civic rank or titled preeminence; but all the mass of people seem in that respect on a sort of equality. It is not our province here to discuss the abstract questions that are often raised about the propriety or futility of conventional, fixed, and limited gradation of rank. Much of self interest, caprice, or taste, often mix with these discussions. It puts us in mind of the fictitious squabbles among flowers for preeminence. Cowper says, the rose, claiming the sovereignty of the parterre,—

> "Appealed to many a poet's page
> To prove her right to reign;"

while Young, with a sweeping enactment, reduces all other petals and blossoms to a groveling equality, and elevates the lily to the imperial degree:—

> "Queen lilies! and ye painted populace,
> Who dwell in fields, and live ambrosial lives!"

In this country there are between the stations of the nobility and the beggar, about five or six

degrees or circles, which are somewhat distinguishable; although it must be confessed these run into one another sometimes in an imperceptible manner. Thus, first, the beggar; second, working men; third, master workmen; fourth, merchants of moderate capital, ministers and professional men not of the highest grade, which may be denominated the middle rank; fifth, a higher class of these, which may be called the upper-middle rank, and may further include country gentlemen of moderate incomes; sixth, the highest class, which may include not only the nobility, but also country gentlemen of very large fortune, judges, rich and dignified clergy, and professional men of great wealth and eminence.

All these separate departments are linked together internally by some of the elements of association which we have noticed. But besides, there are other ties that combine these general orders with one another; there is the connexion of master and servant, landlord and tenant, employer and employed, capitalist and labourer, officer and private, teacher and taught, with various other distinctions. In reference to such a state of society, the associating principle that chiefly combines them seems to be that of joint interest, authority and

obedience, and the sentiments that generate these elements. Manners and customs here are not generalized over the land; each rank retains much of its own exclusive peculiarities. They differ in modes of address, dialect, forms of politeness, style of living, recreations, dress, meals, trains of sentiment, powers, and duties. The dialect of the upper classes is the more refined and elegant, the more euphonious, and conformable to the rules of grammar. In some cases, however, there is energy and significance in the language of great minds among the poorer classes. The majesty and strength of expression in some of Bunyan's and Burns's works have not been excelled.

It is possible that the circumstance of the principle of imitation, and reduction to similarity in manners, operating strongly among the upper classes, may impede freshness, raciness, and originality of thought and expression. There is a tendency in polite society to repress all excitement of exhilaration, or concern; and to reduce all feeling to an indolent and monotonous languor; which is a luxury of its kind, but injurious to energy of character. Some educated men, having discovered this fact, have thought to turn it to account, and have attempted

an originality of style, on a principle of thinking and speaking differently always from other people; this, however, has only produced singularity, unmarked by any quality except feebleness and oddness. Originality traces genuine nature; and does not badly transcribe bad copies.

It is not probable that a gentleman would have thus delineated a hypocrite, who by fatal inconsistency in life and manners prejudiced the cause of righteousness. "Such a professor," says John Bunyan, "is like a man that comes out of a pest-house, with all his plague sores running; he poisons the air around him; this man hath the breath of a dragon; he slays his children, his friends, and himself." Nor muscular energy, as Burns has described it, in a young rustic assisting the farrier to forge the shoe for his horse.

> "Nae mercy then for iron or steel;
> The brawny, bainie ploughman chiel,
> Brings hard o'er hip, with sturdy wheel,
> The strong forehammer,
> Till roof and rafters a' do reel
> Wi' dinsome clamour."

Smollett, a gentleman born, and an educated man, thus describes the appearance of the

frequenters of a coffee room at Bath:—"One hobbled, another hopped, a third dragged his legs after him like a wounded snake; a fourth straddled between a pair of long crutches, like the mummy of a felon hung in chains; a fifth was bent into a horizontal position, like a mounted telescope, shoved in by a couple of chairmen; and a sixth was the bust of a man, set upright in a wheel machine, which the waiter moved from place to place."

Many better examples indicative of the peculiarities of thought and expression in different circles, might be found in consulting the works of Pope, Young, Cowper, Byron; or of Bunyan, Burns, Bloomfield, and others of the working classes.

There are circumstances, as above noted, which, dissevering the different degrees of condition, seem to associate the subjects of these gradations more closely together. We have said their amusements differ. They not only do so, but the higher ranks possess, I do not say enjoy, more pastime or sport, properly so called, than the lower. A sweet portion of the recreation of the working man is cessation from toil; as mere ease is the same gratification to old age, that active muscular exertion is to

infancy and youth. But the expensive entertainments of gambling, keeping and rearing studs of horses, yacht sailing, continental travelling, country excursions, frequent change of scene, collecting of books and pictures, opportunity of conversing with famous men; are beyond the reach of the poor. These circumstances necessarily combine the upper classes on the one hand, and the poor on the other, more perfectly together. Their thoughts and conversation turn on opposite subjects. What could a working man, however intelligent, make of the conversation of a dinner table in Belgrave-square, regarding the mysteries of Tattersall's, Almack's, or the whisperings and suggestions of court changes in some of the west-end club houses; or what could a gentleman make of a colloquy across a tap-room bench, when Tom Jenks complains that Jacob Sly had—blast his bones—ousted him out of a good job by mugging the foreman; and then enters into a long and mysterious explanation, how he should manage, in revenge, to bilk him of his boozel strap, or blow the gaff against him with his captain.

It must be confessed, however, that the daily press, the cheapness of books, advancement of

education, the facility of steam locomotion, the elegant but low-priced accommodation of extensive clubs, the cheapness of musical entertainments, the pastime afforded by listening to eloquent and amusing speeches at the general meetings of societies for various purposes,—do in this country break down very much the partition walls between the poor and rich, in reference to this matter.

The late turn, also, which the upper classes have taken to statistical and politico-economical investigation, has opened up among them a greater knowledge of the circumstances that make up the condition, the avocations, and state of mind of the lower ranks, the grand numerical portion of the empire.

In the United States of America society is less parted into degrees than with us; it is more homogeneous. The general sympathies of the whole people are more easily awakened; concord or discord, on any topic, permeates more among the inhabitants; public opinion, changes of views, general instruction, is more fitted to leaven the whole mass.

CHAPTER XII.

GENERAL REMARKS.

GENERAL REMARKS — SINGULAR EFFECT OF DISSOCIATION IN THE DISCIPLINE OF THE AUBURN PENITENTIARY — POWER OF EVEN COUNTERFEIT APPEARANCE OF ASSOCIATION — DIVISION OF LABOUR HOW FAR A CONJUNCTION — ADVANTAGEOUS ELECTION OF PARISH MINISTERS EFFECTED BY ASSOCIATION OF A FEW—ELEMENTS OF ASSOCIATION WHICH ARE TO BE ENCOURAGED, AND THE REVERSE.

THUS have we gone over more than half a hundred circumstances, states of things, or elements producing association in human life, or opening a way for the admission and operation of that principle.

Many people who talk of the bonds of society, are neither aware of what these are, nor of the elements that govern them; but we may see from the foregoing disquisition something of their number and nature.

We need not here say a word on the benefits or advantages of associating for particular

purposes; no one can consider the above detailed examples of combination, without being perhaps more than ever aware of the hidden philosophy contained in the fable of the dying father and his bundle of rods. Association is power; continuous division, separation, segregation, involves want of power. "Divide et impera," says a true proverb.

In the Auburn Penitentiary of America, there were 1,000 convicts, some of them the most daring and desperate of men; of a character hardened against compunction for any calamity that any heartless violence might occasion, and individually prepared in the most resolved manner to effect escape at all hazards.

But these men were unacquainted with each other; they were during the night confined in the strictest solitude, so that none could form a joint plan of escape; and although in the daytime they were engaged in their work, and eat together in full assemblage, yet this permission was accorded under the bars of a perfect and general muteness, the formidable "silent system." All power of communication, combination, confederacy nearly annihilated, they became a feeble folk, like a flock of chickens

or turkeys; and thirteen experienced guards kept the whole terrible regiment in easy and total subjection.

On the other hand we have adverted already to the circumstance of even the appearance of the shadow of associated numbers possessing a certain power over mankind. We shall instance another case of this description. In a large provincial town an indoor meeting was called upon a certain subject, which was distasteful to a limited number of inhabitants, who agreed to take active measures to counteract the object proposed. There were probably more than 2,000 persons present. On the moving of the obnoxious resolution, hissing got up in various parts of the house. On speakers attempting to advocate the cause, a simultaneous and obstreperous opposition arose from a variety of quarters. The measure appeared generally ungrateful; a most formidable opposition seemed all but universal. The leaders in the intended business were confused, and appeared to be panic struck; attempts to obtain a hearing were made in vain, and for the better part of an hour, the house seemed to be in the hands of an appalling mob. One shrewd individual however at last managed to have a division

effected; and great was the surprise of the inexperienced to find, that not a hand was raised in the way of negation or amendment. It appeared that seventeen individuals had, by placing themselves in small groups throughout the house, managed to effect all the disorder and uproar.

We may here just hint that the celebrated principle of *Division of Labour*, so well illustrated by Adam Smith, owes part of its power to the element which is the subject of our present contemplation. Smith states that there are eighteen operations in pin making; that by dividing these, one man, out of a number, shall fabricate for his share 4,800 pins in a day, instead of twenty; or a nailer shall make 2,300 nails, when a common smith could frame per day, about 300 only. It may be said however that, viewed on another side, this is a conjunction as well as division of labour. It is separate occupation associated, if we may use the phrase, and a portion of the result obtained, comes from a part of the process which depends on association, viz, all the artisans working, separately from each other no doubt, but collectively towards one mark.

Election of Parish Ministers.—We may here endeavour to elucidate the consequences which result from withdrawing the patronages of churches from individuals, and conceding to congregations the right of electing their minister. It may be stated in opposition to this proposal, that, it being admitted that the majority of parties in any parish are always of an irreligious cast, or at least careless of vital godliness, the general product of such an arrangement would be to throw the choice into the hands of the majority, who would consequently be apt in the ordinary case to elect a careless or even libertine clergyman, whose doctrine and practice would suit the taste and manners of the larger portion of the inhabitants. It appears, however, that on this head we must remember that those parishioners who are men of piety, are generally very much alive to the benefits to be derived from a spiritual ministry; that worldly men are in general negligent of church ordinances, and disinclined to endure toil and trouble in the election. The spiritual part of the community, closely associated by earnest feelings of longing and delight in the anticipation of obtaining one to minister at the altar, who to minor qualifications unites faith and holiness of character,

are more apt than others to canvass and take energetic measures to secure the election; thus, though perhaps they be the smaller number, yet they are the most deeply interested, and the most firmly confederated; and the consequence of this zeal and activity will be probably the promotion of their cause, and the settlement of an orthodox and faithful clergyman.

Elements of Association that are to be encouraged.—Upon a review of the foregoing inquiries, it becomes a deeply important question, what portion of these elements of combination are worthy of being cherished and fostered, and what ought to be permitted to cease, go out of operation, or be suppressed.

And from the views formerly given, it may be inferred, that there seems little favour due to the case of overgrown and cumbrous communities, to inordinate accumulation of empire in one union over an immense population. The cases of Athens, Sparta, Rome before its undue aggrandizements, of some of the cantons of Switzerland, and Holland, may be cited on this point, as well as Scotland in the seventeenth century, before the union with England. The compression of large cities must also be unfa-

vourably regarded; and the combination effected by military rule ought to be extended as sparingly as possible, as being somewhat, if not altogether, as Cowper represents it:—

> "Man, associated and leagued with man
> By regal warrant, or self-joined by bond
> For interest's sake, or swarming into clans,
> Beneath one head, for purposes of war,
> Like flowers selected from the rest, and boun
> And bundled close, to fill some crowded vase,
> Fades rapidly, and by compression marr'd,
> Contracts defilement not to be endured."
>
> *Task.*

To large disfavour we must consign the assemblages of horse races, fairs, and other great public diversions, convivial clubs, and meetings of this sort; the association occasioned by a general system of drinking usages, of tavern resort, and the factitious elements of fashion and exclusiveness.

In general the principle of gregariousness seems unfavourable to the cultivation of good moral and mental qualities, and ought in all its modifications to be discouraged. All the association that proceeds from caste, the prevalence of popular superstition, pilgrimages, and the

like, must be condemned, with the confederacies of the popish clergy, and the monastic orders.

The wild fury of mobs every one will doom; but the element of mere *vis inertiæ* in binding subjects to the government, formerly alluded to, does not seem entitled to much respect; as every one should, if possible, have some ground to satisfy his mind as to the substantial benefits of organized government, and lawful authority: and a nation ought not to be held together by a kindred principle to that which governs the coherence of external matter. Mere passive obedience, and non-resistance, the joint admiration of one object of idolatry, the party spirit that severs a man's vote from his conscience, seem all to be elements of combination little worthy of being fostered by mankind.

The confederacies of business partnerships, of commerce, of trades' unions, though useful in their nature, require to be under wise regulations in order to be beneficial.

On the other hand, we seem from the foregoing deductions to be entitled to regard with peculiar favour that degree of socialness which is distinguished from gregarious publicity, and which is not inconsistent with occasional solitude. We would hail with pleasure all con-

federacies for the promotion of arts and sciences, for mental improvement, for friendly, benevolent, or religious purposes. All the domestic associations, also, are to be cherished with the tenderest care: the ties which link together parents and children, husband and wife, and ramify into the alliances of affinity and consanguinity. All political adjustments that mar the culture of these affections are to be avoided; and, perhaps, the poor-laws of England come under this description.

Unity of mind, association of heart, from a similar auspicious faith and feeling of the essentials of true religion, is a principle that transcends all price; and love to christian brethren, love to our neighbour, and to all mankind, are elements flowing from the Divine supplies of the Messiah himself, and worthy of the most earnest acceptation by individuals and nations throughout all ages.

THE END.

WORKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR,

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The Philosophy of Artificial and Compulsory

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Mr. Dunlop has been engaged for several years, *at great labour and expense*, in making investigations on

this subject in various parts of the Three Kingdoms; and has demonstrated to the satisfaction of the principal leaders of the Temperance Reformation, that these usages form the chief obstacle to the advance of the cause *in this country;* and that immediate measures ought now to be taken for their universal abrogation and suppression.

The Minutes of the following bodies confirm Mr. Dunlop's views of this subject, viz. those of the Annual Conference of the British Temperance Association; various Minutes of the Committees of both Old and New British and Foreign Temperance Societies of London; The records of the General Temperance Union of Scotland; and Minutes of the Societies (Temperance or Total Abstinence) of Dublin, Edinburgh, Liverpool, Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, Paisley, Greenock, and many other places.

The following are Extracts from general Reviews and other sources, (not exclusively Temperance,) regarding this and former Editions.

"THIS is a publication *conversant with facts*, and these, too, of no trifling or secondary import. The author is led to investigate what are the circumstances disposing his own countrymen to excess; and the result is such an anatomy of the vice, as we imagine few of our readers will anticipate. Mr. Dunlop proposes Associations to break through these usages, and to combat the false shame attached to reforming singularity. The best sign attendant on his effort is, that when tradesmen have agreed to abandon drinking usages at his suggestion, it has been to adopt the counter stimulation of reading."—*Athenæum.*

"This curious and useful treatise on the statistics of Drinking among the working classes *is full of facts*, which, although they occur daily at our doors, will, on perusal, strike with a painful astonishment at their almost incredible extent, and fatal results."—*Colburn's New Monthly Magazine, edited by Mr. Theodore Hook.*

"The earliest editions of this curious and appalling work were confined to the usages of Scotland: but the earnest and philanthropic author has now extended his researches to England and Ireland; and, by statistical details, derived from indubitable testimonies, has greatly added to his service in behalf of social happiness, by bringing home facts far *more impressive than a thousand rhetorical lectures, delivered from the pulpit or the desk.*"—*London Monthly Review.*

"Mr. Dunlop has taken incalculable pains to inform himself rightly on every thing connected with his research. The book is fraught with utility: it is, moreover, in many parts, singularly entertaining. Dry as is the subject of Temperance Societies, Mr. D. has given a raciness to his production. Tyrone Power *never delineated the Irish character more ably than Mr. D. has: the Scotch falls scarcely short of perfection.* We have no hesitation in pronouncing this a very estimable work. *It discloses manners and customs worthy of the attention of the antiquary;* and corrects with its humour the dull aridity of Temperance Societies. Those who advocate, and those who deride these institutions, may equally derive information and amusement from Mr. Dunlop's pen."—*The Churchman* (*London.*)

"This is a book of great good common-sense. Its philosophy is calm, sober, enlightened, rational. Mr. Dunlop is a patriot in the highest sense. He has well executed his task of exposing the folly and injury of drinking usages, that conduct to the most palpable deterioration of public morals. We strongly recommend Mr. D.'s volume."—*London Sailors' Magazine.*

"Mr. Dunlop *was the first to move in this great and good work* (*Temperance Reformation,*) *in Great Britain.* His energies and talents, his influence and property, have all been devoted to the cause. In this volume he has fathomed this mystery of iniquity, and has clearly exposed *the basis.* The reader has about three hundred different drinking usages held to his view, which may

be denounced as the fetters which bind men in the slavery. The work must have cost an immense expenditure of time and personal investigation. He has laid the whole nation under deep and lasting obligations to him. *Every minister should have a copy on his table.*"—*London Preachers' Magazine.*

"We are glad to learn that Mr. Dunlop, *the founder of Temperance Societies in Scotland*, is engaged in ascertaining the number and nature of drinking usages on this side of the Tweed, with a view to their abolition.....His view appears to be the just one."—*London Christian Advocate.*

"This volume is so full of facts, almost all equally striking, that we are puzzled in selecting extracts. Well-informed as we had thought ourselves upon the subject, we had no conception of materials for a picture so frightful as that which Mr. Dunlop has here painted. *For this state of things there appears to be no remedy but that proposed by him.* We heartily thank Mr. Dunlop for this volume, which, in spite of being fraught with food for melancholy reflection, has afforded us much pleasure by *its vigorous and racy style, and good-humoured sarcasm:* and we sincerely hope it will receive from statesmen, philanthropists, and Christians, as well as from Teetotallers, the deep attention which its very curious, but alarming details demand."—*Ibid.* (Second notice.)

"No one will rise from the perusal of this work without confessing that, whatever his previous knowledge or belief on the subject, he has had a very faint conception of its real magnitude. It will give some impression of the extent of Mr. Dunlop's labour, and of the information which his work contains, simply to state, that he has more or less specifically detailed the drinking usages of [ninety-eight] different professions, and has enumerated nearly [three hundred] distinct occasions, on which the rules of society, or particular trades, demand the introduction and use of intoxicating liquor. The guilt will not lie on the intemperate alone, but on society, which kept up practices that trained them to their vicious habits. Startling as such a declaration may be, it must be confessed evidence is offered, which shows that conclusion to rest on grounds deserving of very grave consideration. In Scottish society, through all its ramifications, the connexion has been established between drinking and politeness, courtesy, kindness, joy, and sorrow,

and any of the thousand changes in a man's family, lot or profession. To break up this, would exert a very sanative influence on national intemperance. And why should it not be attempted? It has been made, and made successfully."—*Presbyterian Review of Scotland.*

"We are glad to see this enlarged edition of Mr. Dunlop's pamphlet. The question appears to us one of solemn interest. The reason of the failure [of Temperance Associations hitherto in his country] is chiefly found in the existence of these manifold and imperious usages, detailed in the work before us, which *at the same time discloses the true remedy.* The author is entitled to the thanks of every lover of his country, for unfolding the workings of that insidious evil, and for pointing so plainly, and advocating so powerfully, the means by which the disastrous consequence may be avoided. Whether viewed as *a matter of curious inquiry to the philosopher*, or as a plan of pure christian philanthropy, we know few subjects more deeply interesting."—*United Secession Magazine of Scotland.*

"Mr. Dunlop has made out a strong case in demonstration of the necessity of a vigorous attempt at reform in the department in question of our national manners. In our opinion, Associations to put down these practices would be the most valuable of all Temperance Societies. Mr. Dunlop deals even-handed justice to all; he impartially rebukes the errors of every class. *The book is replete with most graphic touches of manners —true, we think, to the life*—as well as with sound inferences, and reasonable suggestions for remedying the evil. Mr. Dunlop has done a service entitling him to rank high among the benefactors of his species in the present day. We heartily recommend the perusal of this work."—*Presbyterian Magazine of Scotland.*

"We extract the following account of the artificial drinking usages of Scotland, from an able and well meant pamphlet on the subject, by Mr. Dunlop. There is a vast deal to be done in the way of correcting habits of intemperance, and in abolishing those fantastic and vicious customs which our author adverts to."—*Chambers's Edinburgh Journal.*

"Mr. Dunlop has rendered himself conspicuous by his zealous yet discreet advocacy of general abstinence from intoxicating

liquors; enthusiastic in the cause he has espoused. The drinking usages of the Scotch, Irish and English are each treated in turn, *with no small degree of quiet humour.* All the ordinary means of social improvement now in operation must prove next to unavailing, unless those usages be in the first place attacked, and utterly extirpated."—*Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, June* 15, 1839, (Second notice.)

"No one can give this essay an attentive perusal, without being deeply convinced of the baneful influence of the drinking usages on our country. *The author was the honoured instrument of awakening attention to the subject of national intemperance,* and has made careful investigation into the causes which originate and perpetuate this wide-spreading evil. We would willingly make lengthened extracts from this essay, but would rather urge on our readers to peruse it for themselves."—*Scottish Guardian.*

"We have read Mr. Dunlop's pamphlet with a heightened degree of the same commendatory feelings which his former able contributions to the Temperance cause inspired. To him the public are under obligations of no common magnitude, for his unwearied labours, amidst obloquy, discouragement, and ridicule, in bringing to light many facts connected with the great national sin of intemperance, which usually escape the common observer; in prying into its most secret recesses, and in devising and executing combinations suited to arrest the progress of this hateful vice. *Mr. Dunlop is entitled to the honour of first arousing public attention to the vast extent and alarming spread of intemperance, by proposing the institution of Temperance Societies in* 1829.....In these accursed customs many individuals have found concealed that fatal snare, which in the end has made drunkards of them: root and branch, they must be extirpated." —*Greenock Advertiser.*

"We have not the pleasure of knowing Mr. Dunlop personally, but have long esteemed him as a benefactor to his race, and a wise, ardent, and most successful advocate for temperance. This admirable work ought to be read and pondered well. Our Members of Parliament, Ministers of State, Magistrates, Judges, and Ministers of Religion, should study it. The 'drinking usages' of our country,—how many millions of wretches have they sent to an untimely grave! We look upon

all these customs, from the palace to the cottage, as sources of great vices, crimes, and woes; and we denounce them, wholesale, as the abomination of desolation. There are many portions of this book deeply interesting, and the whole we strongly recommend to the public."—*Glasgow Liberator.*

"We believe that the good Mr. Dunlop has done, by promoting the organization of Abstinence Associations, is trifling when compared with that which he will effect by his present efforts to direct the public attention to the hitherto neglected, but exceedingly important, subject of the drinking usages of Scotland. We regard the publication before us, which furnishes a faithful and copious account of these hurtful social observances, as a work of no ordinary importance, and we earnestly recommend it to the attention of the public. Independent of its importance as a guide to the reformer of the public morals, by indicating the sources and remedies of some of the worst evils that afflict society, *this work is highly valuable as a faithful account of the social habits of the Scottish people.*"—*Greenock Intelligencer.*

"It is unanimously resolved, that this meeting cordially approve of this petition [relative to the drinking usages], and earnestly recommend the subject to the careful consideration of the community."—*Minutes of Magistrates and Council of Greenock.*

"It was unanimously agreed to, that the Presbytery highly approve of the general object contemplated in the Petition, and recommend to each of the members to take every step within their power to effect the abolition of the usages referred to. Farther, appoint a Committee to cooperate with other public bodies in this matter, to wait upon masters of works, heads of families, and individual workmen, to induce them to concur in setting their faces against the continuance of these and other similar pernicious customs. It was farther agreed to, that the thanks of this Presbytery be given to Mr. Dunlop, for the zeal, energy, and unwearied assiduity shown by him in connexion with the general subject of Temperance; which was accordingly done by the Moderator."—*Minutes of Presbytery of Greenock (fourteen parishes.)*

"This is a very curious and painfully instructive volume.

The reader will be astonished when he sees the amount of the incentives to intemperance which are in continual operation. A great effort will be required to counteract and subdue them."—*Wesleyan Methodist Magazine.*

"This is a curious book, and *one likely to attract attention by its singularity*, and to do good by its lessons. We do not usually notice even second editions,—and this is a sixth edition; *but on account of the importance of the volume*, we have thought fit to call attention to it. Mr. Dunlop's object is to induce people to adopt the stimulus of reading, instead of the stimulus of drinking; and it is said his efforts have been attended with considerable success. The number of drinking usages he has collected is startling, and would be amusing but for the reflection of the infinite evils they produce. The author does indeed give a sad and curious picture of the customs and propensities of his native land."—*Metropolitan Magazine.*

"There is a great deal of curious information in the little volume."—*London Observer.*

"Artificial Drinking Usages of Great Britain by John Dunlop, Esq. is a very masterly illustration of extensively existing evils, and strongly enforces the practice of temperate habits in the most powerful principles. We heartily wish this highly respectable pamphlet success."—*London Family Magazine.*

"Believing as we have ever maintained, that religion and temperance go together, we rejoice to see that a work like Mr. Dunlop's 'Artificial Drinking Usages,' should have already reached a [sixth] edition.

"It is richly deserving the study of every class of society."—*London Revivalist.*

"Mr. Dunlop has collected usages, the united effect of which, human nature being what it is, cannot be otherwise than powerful and extensive. Mr. Dunlop verifies conjecture by fact. We never could have supposed but for the facts with so much industry thus gathered and arranged, that the custom of the country presented so many direct incentives to intemperance. No wonder the fire burns so fearful when so much oil is cast upon it. Without pronouncing any opinion on Mr. Dunlop's

principles and plan, we do cordially recommend the perusal of his book."—*London, Watchman, June* 12, 1839.

"Among the zealous apostles of total abstinence no one is more distinguished than the philanthropic author of the book before us. His history of the drinking usages of the three kingdoms is curious, as *a part of the history of the social life and manners of the people.*"—*Tait's Edin. Mag. June,* 1839.

"Although this volume emanates from the pen of a prominent advocate of the Temperance Reformation, yet the subject matter of the essay is by no means confined to discussion and descant that might be acceptable merely at a teetotal meeting; *but it embraces facts and general principles that are highly important and interesting to every citizen of the empire.* Here we behold not the obscure and comparatively inoperative and ineffectual customs of a small horde of uninfluential savages; but the wide-spread, deep-rooted usages of a nation whose example is the most authoritative and commanding in the universe."—*London Patriot.*

"We are astonished, we may say horrified, in reading this volume. Mr. Dunlop's labours have been a blessing to the nation and the world."—*London Christian Observer.*

Extracts from Periodicals exclusively Temperance.

"We have been both instructed and pleased by perusal of this valuable pamphlet. The remarks are calculated for extensive and permanent usefulness. Let all Temperance men, of every society and of every denomination, obtain, read, and digest this tract; and especially let the advocates of the Society among the working classes make themselves thoroughly acquainted with its contents."—*London Temperance Magazine: Supplement.*

"This truly valuable work ought to be in the hands of every friend of the temperance cause."—*Ibid.* (Second notice.)

"J. Dunlop, Esq. is applying himself to the labour of exposing the various compulsory drinking usages which prevail.

Need we say that we wish this true patriot success? need we urge our friends to render him every possible facility and encouragement?"—*London Temperance Examiner.*

"We have before had occasion to notice the persevering and successful exertions of John Dunlop, Esq. in reference to the various drinking usages which prevail throughout the empire. We believe that the valuable efforts of Mr. D. in the cause of temperance—in the cause of teetotalism—are well understood and duly appreciated in every part of the kingdom: and we have no hesitation in recommending the book for diligent and serious perusal. He has examined into the subject with the persevering curiosity of an antiquary, with the benevolent anxiety of a philanthropist, and the unwearied zeal of a Christian."—*Ibid.* (Second notice.)

"It affords us sincere pleasure to learn, that that distinguished friend of the Total Abstinence cause, John Dunlop, Esq. is in the metropolis, collecting information respecting the artificial drinking usages. *He was the first to unfurl the banner of Temperance in Scotland.* We need not repeat that we most heartily welcome him to London. We perceive, from various Scottish periodicals, that preparatory to leaving Greenock, he was publicly presented by his townsmen with a service of silver plate."—*London Temperance Intelligencer.*

"The name of 'Dunlop' has been for some years past so intimately connected with the important subject of which this volume treats, and the respected author has, to our knowledge, applied himself with so much intelligence and heartiness to that subject, that we should have been much surprised and greatly disappointed, had his volume proved any thing but just what it is—a book that will yield both amusement and instruction; a book which will gratify the curiosity of the philosopher, awaken the sympathy of the philanthropist, and rouse the zeal of the Christian; a book which abounds in graphic descriptions of some of the worst evils which exercise imperious sway over the multitude, at the same time that it propounds the most simple and efficacious instrumentality for remedying those evils; a book which does equal honour to the industry, the talent, the patriotism, the piety of the author; a book, the seasonable publication of which will, we have the fullest assurance, advance most materially the prosperity of the Temperance cause; and,

finally, a book which every advocate of the Total Abstinence principle should seek to possess and to study, with as little delay as possible."—*Ibid.* (Second notice.)

"John Dunlop, Esq. *the founder of the first Temperance Society in Great Britain,* was very appropriately called to the chair (at the meeting of delegates to institute the Total Abstinence Union of Scotland.")—*Isle of Man Guardian.*

"That this Association, believing that the drinking customs are among the most powerful causes of intemperance, would strongly urge upon all Temperance Societies....the circulation of the excellent publication of J. Dunlop, Esq. whose tracts on the subject are entitled to the highest consideration."—*Minutes of Fifth Annual Conference of the General British Association of Temperance held at Birmingham.*

"The assembly earnestly recommend each society strenuously to endeavour to abrogate the artificial and compulsory drinking usages within its bounds."—*Resolutions of Delegates for forming the Scottish Temperance Union* (Total Abstinence).

"The following very appropriate extract from a late work of J. Dunlop, Esq. was here read (extract from the pamphlet). The meeting then listened to a 'Eulogy on Eminent Scotsmen.'—'The only other living Scotsman whom I shall take leave to notice, is Mr. John Dunlop of Greenock.' "—*Report of Meeting on St. Andrew's Day* (*Canada Temperance Advocate*).

"Your Committee feel that they are only discharging a debt of gratitude to this gentleman (Mr. Dunlop,) *as the earliest pleader of the Temperance cause in Great Britain,* when they record their admiration of the intrepidity and firmness of purpose with which he stepped forward as the open and uncompromising advocate of Temperance Societies, in defiance of all the obloquy and scorn, the avowed hostility, or freezing indifference, which met him in every quarter; and they gladly award him the honour of being the 'FATHER OF TEMPERANCE SOCIETIES IN SCOTLAND.' "—*First Report of Scottish Temperance Society.*

"J. Dunlop, Esq. has already very materially served the cause of Temperance, by exposing the drinking usages.

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